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# China Report

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## CHINA REPORT

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No. 5, 1 March 1984

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## STUDY COMRADE DENG XIAOPING'S IDEAS ON PARTY BUILDING DURING THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 84 pp 2-8

[Article by Lin Jianqing [2651 3386 7230]]

[Text] A circular issued by the CPC Central Committee on studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has pointed out: Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is an important ideological preparation for party rectification, and a matter of primary importance in strengthening ideological unification of the entire party. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has systematically reflected the correct leadership of the party headed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Conscientiously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" can help us further understand the history of the great turning point of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the origin and development of the line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the main contents of the correct path proposed by the 12th CPC National Congress for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the main guarantee for following the path, and the new achievements made by our party in upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical period. The "CPC Central Committee's Decision on Party Rectification" has decided that the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is one of the documents for party rectification study. In accordance with the spirit of the circular issued by the CPC Central Committee, and the decision on party rectification, we should conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

After seizing state power of the whole nation, and in the process of leading people throughout the country to carry out socialist modernization, how should the CPC, as a vanguard of the Chinese working class, strengthen its own building? This is an important question for study facing our party. A series of expositions on party building is contained in "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." They concern the party's programs, guiding thinking, organizational principles, cadres' line, work style, reform of the party's leadership system under the new historical period, and so forth. All these important theories and practice concerning party building have fully reflected Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas on party building. All these ideas are the product of the correct leadership of the CPC represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, which has persisted in integrating universal truth of Marxism with the specific practice in China, and an inheritance, enrichment, and

development of the scientific achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on party building. They are of guiding significance for the building of the CPC, and the present party rectification. They have also enriched the Marxist-Leninist theories on the building of the proletarian political parties.

#### The Kernel of the Idea Is To Build a Party Which Is Competent To Lead Socialist Modernization

The Marxist theories on party building have told us that a working-class political party is a vanguard of the working class, and a tool for fulfilling the historical mission of the class. Different key demands are set on the working class in different historical periods. Before the working class has succeeded in seizing the state power of the whole nation, the key task of the working-class political party is to lead the people to carry out class struggle, and to use revolutionary violence to smash the old and decadent production relations and superstructures, in order to emancipate the productive forces of the society. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong correctly pointed out: Whether the proletarian revolution can develop and succeed is determined by whether there is a proletarian revolutionary party. During this period, a fundamental demand of party building set on the working-class political party is to ensure that the party is able to adapt itself to the environment of class struggle, and that it is able to build itself into a party which is competent to lead the people to carry out class struggle. In our country, following the success of the working class in seizing state power, and in eliminating the bourgeoisie as an exploiting class, the key task of the party has been shifted from the previous emancipation of the productive forces into protection and development of productive forces. In other words, the party should lead people of the whole country to wholeheartedly carry out socialist economic, political, and cultural construction so that our country will be built into a modern, highly civilized, and highly democratic socialist country. Under the new historical conditions, class struggle will exist for a long time within a certain scope due to the influence of internal and international factors. Under certain conditions, class struggle will become acute. The working class is, and must remain, a leading force of the proletarian dictatorship. However, class struggle is no longer a main contradiction at home. Apart from becoming a tool of class struggle, a working-class political party should build itself into a party suitable for socialist modernization. Therefore, after the changes of the main social contradictions in our country and the shifting of the key tasks of the party, what criteria should we follow to build our party? Should the party be built into one which can just lead class struggle, or one which is competent to lead socialist modernization? This is a question of fundamental importance in party building at present stage. To answer this question in different ways will give rise to two different kinds of guiding principles and requirements with regard to ideological and organizational building as well as work style of the party. Different answers will bring about two absolutely different results.

The kernel of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas in party building is: Under the new historical conditions, we should build our party into one which is

competent to lead socialist modernization. In other words, we should build our party in accordance with the objective requirements of socialist modernization. From "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we can clearly understand that a fundamental starting point of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on the ideological and organizational building as well as work style of the party is to make our party fit in with the objective requirements of modernization. For example, in his speech delivered at the 3d meeting of the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he pointed out: The purpose in revising the party constitution is to "further clarify the position and role of the party in the four modernizations." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 240; when subsequent passages are quoted from this work, only page numbers will be mentioned) He stressed: "To put it briefly, the political line of our party at the present stage is to carry out four modernizations with heart and soul." (p 240) He added: "The most important work is to carry out economic construction, and develop national economy and the productive forces of the society." While talking about the party's ideological and organizational lines, he pointed out: "The present organizational system and way of thinking of a number of cadres are not beneficial to selecting and using talented personnel urgently needed by the four modernizations." (p 286) He continued: "We should be good at discovering, selecting and promoting, or even boldly promoting excellent middle-aged and young cadres." "This is an objective crying need of the modernization of our country, not just an idea prompted by veteran comrades in a moment of excitement." (p 283) While talking about the necessity of reforming the leadership system of the party and state, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed: This is "needed by the socialist modernization." (p 281) In accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's above-mentioned ideas on party building, the 12th CPC National Congress stressed: "The party should be built into a staunch core leading socialist modernization." A program for party building in the new historical period is thus summed up in a brief sentence. We should say that the formulation of such a program of party building is an important act of bringing order out of chaos in the party ideology on party building. It has, and will continue to play an important guiding role in our party building.

In July 1977, while talking about the necessity of comprehensively and accurately understanding Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It was Comrade Mao Zedong who developed Lenin's theories on party building to the fullest extent." (p 41) Ours is a country in which the number of powerful proletariat is small, but peasants and other elements of petty bourgeoisie constitute the majority of the population. In such a country, it is a strenuous task to build a Marxist proletarian political party of a mass character. Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on party building successfully solved this problem. However, Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his old age, including mistakes in party building. He said: "The party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat. It should be a vigorous vanguard organization which can lead the proletariat and revolutionary masses to fight against the class enemy." This exposition was made because of a miscalculation in the situation of class struggle in our country. If we continue to apply this theory, people are liable to misunderstand that the party is still a tool of class struggle under the condition that class struggle is no longer a main contradiction. Comrade Deng

Xiaoping has pointed out that party building must suit the demands of socialist modernization. This is a new development based on inheriting Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific ideas on party building, and is an outstanding contribution to our party building.

#### Reestablishing the Party's Ideological Line of Seeking Truth From Facts

Our party's ideological line is based on dialectical materialism and historical materialism with "seeking truth from facts" as its quintessence. After the smashing of the "gang of four," to build a party which is competent to lead the modernization, we should, first of all, reestablish an ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Why? Because: 1) Only by persisting in the principle of seeking truth from facts, can we correctly solve contradictions in the ideological understanding within the party. Only thus, can we correctly carry out the struggle against erroneous trends, and adopt a method of persuasion, education, criticism and self-criticism to unify the thinking of the entire party so that the entire party will keep in line ideologically and politically. 2) Only by persisting in the principle of seeking truth from facts can we correctly solve various kinds of problems left over from history, and correctly appraise the achievements, errors, and rights and wrongs of Comrade Mao Zedong, and other party leaders who have passed away. Only thus, can we adopt a correct resolution on several historical problems within the party, and achieve the purpose of uniting the entire party as one in looking forward. 3) The most important thing is that only by persisting in the principle of seeking truth from facts can we study new situations and new problems successively occurring in the process of modernization, and continuously reform the incompatible parts in the relations between production relations, superstructure, and the development of productive forces. In so doing, we will be able to work out the specific line, guiding principles, and policies for the four modernizations in light of our national conditions. If our party departs from the principle of seeking truth from facts, it will not be able to smoothly bring order out of chaos, and expeditiously effect a great historical change. Nor will it be able to work out the guiding principle, line, and policies for modernization in light of our national conditions. In such a situation, we cannot move even a single step. We will continue to be thrown into chaos and turbulence.

At a critical moment when the entire party was urgently demanding a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, with his unprecedented political courage and bravery, Comrade Deng Xiaoping started correcting the mistakes of the "two whatevers." He reestablished the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. This was a matter of profound significance in our party building, and in the development of our party's cause. It can be imagined that if we had failed to correct the mistakes of the "two whatevers," it would have been impossible for the entire party to emancipate itself from the "leftist" erroneous ideology, to effectively oppose various kinds of right tendencies, and to formulate and implement a full set of guiding principles, line, and policies for socialist modernization in light of our national conditions. It would have been impossible for us to develop the present favorable situation in which industrial and agricultural production in urban and rural areas has vigorously developed and the living standard of the people has been improved.



In the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and carrying out reforms, new situations and new creativity will occur one after another. This will require that we exert painstaking efforts to sum up new practical experience, establish new theories, and put forth new policies. We will inevitably encounter the following question: What criteria should we adopt to test whether a theory, a policy, or a system is correct and good? Comrade Deng Xiaoping has explicitly answered this question. In his article "The Reforms of the Leadership System of the Party and State," he pointed out: "We are carrying out socialist modernization, because we intend to catch up economically with the developed capitalist countries, develop a democracy which is higher and more practical than that of capitalist countries, and train more talented personnel who are more outstanding than those of capitalist countries... Whether various systems of the party and state are good and perfect should be tested by whether they are beneficial to fulfilling the above-mentioned three criteria." (pp 282-283) After the 12th CPC National Congress, some new economic phenomena occurred in the urban and rural areas of our country. Under such circumstances, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out again: Whether our policies are good and correct should be tested by the three criteria. 1) Whether they are beneficial to building socialism with Chinese characteristics; 2) whether they are beneficial to the prosperity and growth of our country; 3) whether they are beneficial to the prosperity and happiness of the people. These three criteria are, in essence, the same as the previous three criteria. In other words, whether a certain system and policy is right and good should, in the final analysis, be tested by the ultimate criterion of whether it is beneficial to promoting the development of social productive forces in our country. This basic viewpoint of Comrade Deng Xiaoping has reflected the quintessence of historical materialism, and integrated the basic principle of dialectical materialism on taking practice as the sole criterion for testing the truth with the concrete practice of the present four modernizations in our country. All these have provided our entire party with a very important ideological weapon and guide of action for formulating, reforming, and implementing the system, guiding principles, and policies, including party rectification work which is now in progress. All these have also further emancipated the minds of cadres and party members of the entire party, and forcefully supported and continued to encourage them to bring about various kinds of new and great creation in the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

#### Realizing the Cooperation Between the New and Elderly Cadres in Leading Bodies, Succession of the Old Cadres by the New Ones, and the Four Transformations of Cadre Ranks

The party's organizational line is an important guarantee for realizing the party's ideological and political line. To build our party into one which is competent to lead socialist modernization, our organizational line should also be relevantly changed so that it will suit the demands of modernization. Solving the problem of the party's organizational line involves many issues. The key to this matter lies in solving the problems of cadres well, the problems of leading bodies at various levels in particular. In his speech delivered at a senior cadres' meeting held in 1979, Comrade Deng

Xiaoping incisively pointed out: "A serious problem facing our country is not whether our line and guiding principles for the four modernizations are correct or not. Instead, we are facing the problem of lacking a great number of talented personnel who can realize such a line and guiding principles... We lack a great number of young and professionally trained cadres. Without such cadres, it is impossible to carry out the four modernizations. We veteran comrades should soberly realize that we should not delay handling the matter of successors. Otherwise, carrying out the four modernizations will remain empty talk." (p 193)

To make the cadre corps younger in average age and realize their four transformations, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forth a series of important principles, guidelines, policies and measures. He has thrown all his energy into the work.

With regard to the cooperation between young and elderly cadres and the succession of the old cadres by the new ones, in light of previous complicated historical experience, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has insisted that in the process of succeeding the old cadres by the new ones, a principle of both cooperation and succession should be upheld. This starting point is beneficial to continuously bringing into play the role of veteran cadres who have a wealth of experience in administering our party, country, and army, and who have enjoyed lofty prestige. This will also help younger leading cadres in the party and those outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to temper themselves in their new leadership posts, and speedily accumulate leadership experience. The 5th session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to establish the central Secretariat. The 12th CPC National Congress decided to establish the Central Advisory Commission. In the process of streamlining the administrative structure of the party and government organs of the central authorities, provinces, and cities, it has been demanded that leading bodies be built up in accordance with the principle of the combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, so that there will be an echelon formation based on the age of cadres. This will include the first echelon, second echelon, and the third echelon. All these are important steps taken to build up the party's leading bodies at various levels in accordance with the principle of the cooperation between young and elderly cadres and the succession of the old cadres by the new ones. Of course, the fundamental way for solving the problem of the succession of the old cadres by the new ones is to establish a retirement system for veteran cadres. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "It is appropriate to say that the advisory commission is a transition from a life tenure system of our leading cadres to a retirement system." (pp 368-369) Although there was no precedent for this transitional form in the past, it fits in with the reality of our party. Practice has proved that as long as we make conscious efforts to adopt this method, we can ensure a smooth transition.

At the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech on preventing "people of three categories" (followers of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, who rose to power through rebellion; people who were severely influenced by factionalism; elements who engaged in beating, smashing and

looting) from sneaking into leading bodies at various levels, and on purifying the party organizations. "People of three categories" within the party is an ambitious political force that should not be ignored. If we fail to thoroughly eliminate them, they will become the source of trouble and time bombs. This important instruction is of great significance because it helps us effectively do the work of selecting, examining, and training successors. This will guarantee that our socialist cause under the Marxist leadership of the party forges ahead continuously.

Concerning the matter of selecting a great number of intellectuals who have both ability and political integrity, at a cadre meeting convened by the central authorities in January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is necessary to repeatedly point out that our cadre corps should adhere to the socialist path. It is of particular significance to reiterate this today." He added: "We should build up a mighty cadre corps which adheres to the socialist path, and has professional knowledge and capability." He said again: "While selecting cadres in future, we should pay special attention to their professional knowledge. We neglected this for a long time in the past. If we do so again now, it will be impossible for us to carry out modernization." He emphasized: "In various vocational organs at all levels, including CPC committees at all levels, leading posts should be taken by those who have professional knowledge. We should gradually attain this objective." (pp 226, 228, 229) Due to strenuous efforts exerted in recent years by the CPC Central Committee and the CPC committees at various levels, at present, a great number of outstanding intellectuals who have professional knowledge and ability have been assigned to leading bodies of our party and the state at various levels. This is a measure of strategic significance for our modernization. It will certainly play an increasingly important role in the future.

#### Carrying Forward the Party's Excellent Work Style of Serving the People Wholeheartedly

To build our party into one which is competent to lead modernization, we should restore and carry forward the party's excellent tradition and work style of integrating theories with reality, conducting self-criticism, and establishing close ties with the masses, which were formed during the long years of revolutionary war and struggles. Due to the fact that our party is in the position of leading state power of the whole country, it is a matter of special significance for the party to form close ties with the masses, to oppose bureaucracy, and to oppose the act of abusing power to seek private gains. Our party is facing various difficulties in leading the people in building a populous country which is backward in the development of productive forces into a socialist power with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense, and modern science and culture. The arduousness and complexity of the difficulties are unprecedented in the history of our party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "While carrying out four modernizations, we will encounter various difficulties because of insufficient experience. For example, lacking management and technical personnel is our difficulty. To reform an enterprise, we should reduce the number of workers of the enterprise. How should we make arrangements for

those surplus workers? This is also a difficulty. It is absolutely correct for us to establish a retirement system. However, a number of people resist it in their minds. This is also a great difficulty. In the final analysis, only by having faith in the masses, relying on the masses, and fully following the mass line can we solve these problems." While talking about selecting and training young cadres, he also pointed out: "We should let them understand that younger age alone does not solve problems. Professional knowledge alone does not solve problems either. They must have a good work style. They must form close ties with the masses. This is a fundamental thing." (p 202) Therefore, forming close ties between the party and the broad masses of people is a key to improving party work style under the new historical conditions.

In his report on revising party constitution delivered at the 8th party congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: After nationwide victory, the number of people within the party who pursued bureaucracy and sought "privileges" increased, rather than decreased. Comrade Deng Xiaoping uttered this remark only 7 years after the founding of the People's Republic. At that time, the excellent work styles of hard struggle, and sharing the comforts and hardship of the masses were still preserved by a great number of party members and cadres within the party. During the 10 years of internal disorder, our party's fine tradition and work style were severely sabotaged. Under the new historical conditions of implementing a policy of opening up to foreign countries and vitalizing the domestic economy, there have been more influence and corrosion of the decadent capitalist ideology and vestiges of feudal ideology. In addition, we failed to exert forceful efforts to carry out the work and struggle to resist and overcome such corrosion. As a result, bourgeois individualism and the decadent ideas of acting as high and overbearing bureaucrats, and seeking "privileges" as well as material comfort have grown within the party. Such unhealthy trends and corrupt phenomena within the party have played a role of severely obstructing the four modernizations. They have impaired the party's prestige among the people, so that some people have separated themselves and estranged themselves from the party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping promptly and nimbly discovered that such a state of affairs would severely ruin the party building and the modernization led by the party. In April 1982, in his article "Resolutely Dealing Blows at Economic Criminal Activities," he pointed out: "This wind is blowing in fierce gusts. If our party fails to pay serious attention to this and stop the wind, our party and state will inevitably face a problem of 'changing political color.' This is not alarmist talk." (pp 357-358) In his opening speech delivered at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping seriously stressed: Rectifying the party work style and party organizations is one of the four basic guarantees for persisting in the socialist road, and concentrating our efforts to carry out modernization.

To rectify party work style, and vigorously restore and carry forward the party's fine tradition of serving the people wholeheartedly, opposing the act of abusing power to seek private gains, and forming close ties between the party and the masses, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has proposed a series of correct principles, guidelines, and measures. They include: 1) It is

necessary to carry out struggle within the party to oppose bourgeois ideology and feudal remnant ideology in order to thoroughly eliminate the "privilege" mentality. 2) Strict discipline is needed in order to administer the party. "Strict demands should be set on leading bodies and senior cadres." With regard to those unqualified party members, more education must be provided with them. With regard to those who refuse to repent, we should take disciplinary measures against them. With regard to those party members who have made serious political and economic mistakes, we should expel them from the party and remove them from their official posts after examining and verifying their cases. We should not be too lenient to them. With regard to those elements who steal state property and are guilty of corruption and taking bribes, we must not be soft on them. Due to the fact that the evidence is clear, most of their cases are correctly handled. We must deal blows at them "promptly and severely." With regard to those criminal elements who committed severe crimes, we must punish them seriously according to law. This is one of the most important measures for rectifying the party work style and organizations. (pp 358-359) 3) Senior party cadres should take the lead in carrying forward the party's fine tradition. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The salary of our senior cadres is not too high, but they have too many benefits. As a result, they are apt to separate themselves from the masses and other cadres, or even spoil their own children and family members. This will give rise to bad work style. Bureaucracy cannot be overcome either." (p 192) 4) We should strengthen the work of disciplinary inspection organs within the party, and the supervision of party organizations and the masses over party members and party cadres at various levels. 5) The cadre system and leadership system must be properly reformed so that we can guard against and overcome defects such as bureaucracy, privileges, and other things which separate party cadres and party members from the masses. In so doing, party cadres, leading cadres in particular will inspire their revolutionary spirit, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and become models of the entire party and the whole society.

#### Reforming the Party's Leadership System and Other Systems

Reforming the party's leadership system and other systems is a measure of strategic importance put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, because it enables us to build our party into one which is competent to lead socialist modernization. This is also his great contribution to developing Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on party building.

With regard to party building, in the past people very often dealt with this matter mainly in terms of ideological education within the party and consolidation of the party organizations (it was correct and completely necessary for them to do so). Not many people paid attention to the reform of the party's leadership system and other systems. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it was Comrade Deng Xiaoping who was the first to raise this issue. At an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held in August 1980, he delivered a report entitled "The Reforms of the Leadership System of the Party and State." He expounded this matter in an all-round and comprehensive way.

Why did Comrade Deng Xiaoping stress that it is necessary to reform the party's leadership system and other systems? There are three main reasons for this: 1) In light of the historical experience of our party building, profound experience drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular, in his report "The Reforms of the Leadership System of the Party and State," Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Great figures such as Stalin and Comrade Mao Zedong were severely influenced by some bad systems. This was a misfortune for the party and state, and for the great figures themselves. He said: "Stalin severely undermined the socialist legal system. Comrade Mao Zedong once said that such a thing could not happen in Western countries such as Britain, France and the United States. Although he realized this, he failed, in practice, to solve the problem of leadership system. Due to his failure and some other reasons, there occurred the 10-year calamity of the 'Great Cultural Revolution.' This was a profound lesson. I do not mean that an individual is allowed to shirk his responsibility. What I mean is that the problem of leadership system and organizational system is a matter of fundamental and overall importance, which involves the stability and continuity of our policy. This problem of systems concerns whether our party and state will change their political color. It merits the close attention of the entire party." (p 293) 2) Certain existing unreasonable systems have severely hampered the development of modernization. Bureaucracy within the party, overconcentration of power, patriarchy, the life tenure system of leading cadres, privileges of every description in our internal affairs and international intercourse have developed to an intolerable extent. The roots of the occurrence and growth of such phenomena are the defects existing in the leadership system of our party and state, and other systems. (p 287) Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: The occurrence of bureaucracy can, of course, be attributed to ideological work style. However, if the problem of system remains unchanged, the problem of ideological work style cannot be solved either. 3) It is necessary to systematize certain excellent work style of the working-class political party which is formed in long-term practice, and to systematize and legalize fundamental experiences of administering the party and army in order to maintain the stability and continuity of the rule of the working class.

Fundamentally speaking, the reform of the leadership system of the party and state involves the matter of fully, steadily and continuously bringing the superiority of the socialist system into play. If our party fails to speed up the work of reforming the leadership system and other systems, people might ask: Why cannot some problems, which can be solved by the capitalist system, be solved by the socialist system? Therefore, we must reform in a guided and planned way and step by step those parts in the leadership system of the party and state which are incompatible with the development of socialist modernization. This will be beneficial to giving full play to the superiority of the socialist system.

The reform of the leadership system of the party and state and other systems proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping involves various aspects. For example, they include dividing the work between the party and government, abolishing the life tenure system of leading cadres, persisting in the party's democratic centralism, strictly systematizing good traditions, and so forth.

While talking with foreign reporters on Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and demerits throughout his life, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "In his lifetime, he failed to implement well the previous good work style, such as democratic centralism, mass line, and others. He failed to devise and form good systems." (p 304) "Comrade Mao Zedong and other revolutionaries of the older generation who have passed away did not complete the task. This task should be shouldered by us." "People of our generation cannot fully accomplish this task. However, it is, at least, our duty to lay a solid foundation for its completion, and to chart a correct orientation." (pp 301-302) Here, we have fully seen Comrade Deng Xiaoping's great foresight as a proletarian revolutionary, and his high sense of political responsibility for the coming generations. With the spirit of losing no time, he proposed the reforms and is leading the entire party to carry out the reforms of the leadership system of the party and state. In recent years, our party has achieved initial but remarkable results in reforming the leadership system, cadre system, and other systems, so that it can keep abreast with the socialist modernization with regard to ideology, organization, and work style. As long as we march along this correct orientation, we will win greater victory in party building and the cause of the party.

Conscientiously studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas of party building in the new historical period is a matter of primary importance for the party rectification which is in progress. In accordance with the decision of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, we must rectify the party's work style and organizations in an all-round way. This is a great project for the building of the party itself in the new historical period. During the party rectification, we must integrate theories with practice, and deepen our understanding of, and exert greater efforts to practice Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas on party building, and build our party into a powerful leading core for the socialist modernization.

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## IT IS IMPERATIVE TO GRASP KEY PROBLEMS IN PARTY RECTIFICATION

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[Commentator's article]

[Text] After a period of study, units carrying out party rectification during the first phase are now gradually entering the stage of comparison and examination, and have begun the work of simultaneous rectification and correction of defects. At present, one point merits attention, that is, it is imperative to grasp key problems in the course of comparison and examination as well as in simultaneous rectification and correction of defects. In other words, it is imperative to grasp key problems.

In everything we do, it is necessary to grasp key problems. This is a Marxist work method. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of other contradictions." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 295) When we have solved key problems well, it is easy to solve other problems.

Units carrying out party rectification during the first phase are leading organs at the central level, leading organs at the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional levels, leading organs at various armed services levels, and leading organs at the major military area command level. Party rectification in these units has an important bearing on the overall situation in party rectification work as well as on socialist modernization. It will not do just to solve superficial, ordinary problems. It is necessary to solve key problems in line with the party's general target and requirements.

What are the key problems? The CPC Central Committee's decision on party rectification points out: At present, apart from serious impurity in ideology, work style, and organization, our party still has many problems which do not conform to the new situation and tasks confronting us. These are the key problems the entire party should solve. The purpose of putting forward the four tasks of unifying ideology, rectifying work style, strengthening discipline, and purifying organizations in the current party rectification is to solve the above-mentioned key problems.



The first task is to unify ideology. How can we unify our ideology? We should correct all "leftist" and rightist erroneous tendencies violating the four basic principles and the party line drawn up since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, unify our ideology on the basis of the line, principles, and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee according to the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and realize a high degree of unanimity of ideological and political understanding. Stress should be laid on solving this problem now and on correcting the erroneous ideological and political line. Past problems which have been solved should not be emphasized, as they are no longer major problems of the present moment.

The general purpose and requirement of party rectification is to strive to build the party into a staunch kernel which can lead socialist modernization. Through party rectification, various regions, departments, and units must be able to attain marked improvement in their work. This demands that we stand higher, show greater foresight, and always bear the "one, two, three" in mind, that is, one target (quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value by the year 2000), two civilizations (material and spiritual civilizations), and three great tasks (the four modernizations, reunification of the motherland, and opposition to hegemonism). Key problems to be solved by the CPC Central Committee should be linked with the "one, two, three." Problems in ideology, work style, and organization, which hamper socialist modernization, should be solved well during party rectification. Only thus can a new situation be brought about after party rectification. If we fail to grasp these key problems, which concern the overall situation, or fail to solve them effectively, our work will not change greatly in spite of the fact that some other problems have been solved in party rectification.

The decision of the CPC Central Committee on party rectification points out that there are two erroneous tendencies in the party: "One is that some party members and party cadres have not freed themselves from the bind of the past 'leftist' ideology, are distorting the four basic principles, and bear resentment against the line, principles, and policies drawn up since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and that some other party members and party cadres have even refused to carry out the above-mentioned line, principles, and policies; and the other one is that some party members and party cadres have been unable to stand the test of historical setbacks and the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, that they have doubts on or negate the four basic principles, that they are deviating from the line, principles, and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and that they are advocating bourgeois liberalism." It is imperative to energetically correct these two erroneous tendencies. In addition, some party members and party cadres have really forgotten the party's general line, tasks, and target and have forgotten the four modernizations and the tasks of quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value and of building the two civilizations. As a result, they only pay attention to the local and immediate interests of their departments and regions to the neglect of the

overall situation. Although these tendencies are different from "leftist" erroneous tendencies, they seriously hamper socialist modernization, and they must be regarded as key problems to be solved in party rectification. Otherwise, how can we unify our ideology and action?

In rectifying party style, many units are right in making a breakthrough in solving the problem of abusing powers for personal gain and in solving bureaucratism. This conforms to the idea of simultaneous rectification and correction of defects. These two problems directly affect the party's prestige, image, and reputation as well as the people's confidence in the four modernizations. Solving these two problems will enable the people to have faith in the party after obtaining actual results through simultaneous rectification and correction of defects. However, it is necessary to pay attention to key problems in this respect. In other words, it is necessary to conscientiously examine and handle matters and cases about which the masses have many complaints. We should avoid being tied down by ordinary problems which have been corrected through self-criticism, so as to solve more important problems. Unhealthy tendencies in the party must be resolutely stopped, but it is not necessary to dispute over every detail in an egalitarianist manner.

The CPC Central Committee has stressed that party rectification must not be carried out in a perfunctory manner. What does a perfunctory manner refer to? It refers to being unable to grasp and solve key problems. There are many problems in the party, and ordinary problems can be solved easily without racking the brains. We do not mean that we should overlook ordinary problems, but that we should not pay attention only to ordinary problems to the neglect of key problems. If we do not solve key problems, we will not be able to reach the goal of party rectification.

Whether key problems can be grasped and solved well lies in the attitude and determination of leaders. The so-called key problems mean, first of all, the problems of leading cadres, because these problems will affect the overall situation of a unit. Problems of party members in general, which can affect the overall situation of a unit, are, very often, directly or indirectly connected with leading cadres. Therefore, to grasp key problems, leading cadres should be strict in analyzing themselves. They should be bold in making self-criticism of their shortcomings and mistakes in a sincere, profound, and practical manner. Moreover, they should also adopt the same attitude in criticizing the shortcomings and mistakes of other cadres. If a leading cadre is afraid of losing face and personal interests, if he is afraid of offending people and looking reality in the face, and if he always dodges contradictions, he will not be able to solve key problems well. So he is required to have a clear and accurate perception of key problems. It is not difficult for a leading cadre to have a clear and accurate perception of key problems as long as he has the determination to do so, is willing to listen to the opinions of persons inside and outside the party, and can conscientiously carry out investigation and study.

ADHERE TO THE METHOD OF THINKING AND WORK STYLE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM  
FACTS--UNDERSTANDING GAINED BY READING 'SELECTED WORKS OF CHEN YUN  
(1926-1949)'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 84 pp 11-15, 8

[Article by Zheng Shi [6774 1395]]

[Text] Since taking up leadership work in the Central Committee, Comrade Chen Yun has for a long time persisted in the method of thinking and work style of seeking truth from facts. Regardless of whether in the war-ridden years or the vigorous period of peaceful construction; regardless of whether carrying out secret work for the party under the reign of White terror or in charge of leadership work of the party and the state when the party is in power; regardless of whether supervising the cadre work and organizational work of the party or leading the work of economic construction, Comrade Chen Yun has always actively integrated the basic principles of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and the practical work of the department under his leadership, and earnestly, simply, and effectively carried forward the cause of the party. This method of thinking and work style of always seeking truth from facts are fully embodied in each article of "Selected Works of Chen Yun." By conscientiously studying "Selected Works of Chen Yun," we will be able to concretely understand the contributions made by Comrade Chen Yun toward the victory of the Chinese revolution, and toward the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought which has been regarded as a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Communist Party of China; we will be able to concretely learn how to become a genuine communist, to be a state cadre wholeheartedly serving the people, and to be a leader having close ties with the masses, and also how to persist in seeking truth from facts, correctly ponder problems, and carry out work well. When developing the all-round party rectification, the use of these works with their rich revolutionary experience to compare, sum up, and examine our own thinking and work will enable us to be deeply enlightened.

I. Objective Condition Is the Basis, All Work Must Proceed From Reality

"Organizational work must correspond to the demands of the political line, and guarantee the implementation of the political line. Therefore, there are two demands: Correct understanding of the political line; realistic understanding of specific conditions. Only discussing the line without

understanding specific conditions is empty talk. Only knowing specific conditions without understanding the line is like being blind. We must overcome the defect of 'the upper level only discussing the line, and the lower level only discussing specific work.'" ("Selected Works of Chen Yun (1926-1949)," p 153. Hereafter, only the page number of the book will be quoted.) This was spoken by Comrade Chen Yun in 1940. After more than 40 years, this idea of paying attention to reality is still of important significance today.

Comrade Chen Yun has always attached importance to reality. He stressed that all work must be based on actual conditions, and correspond to the actual circumstances of that time. Regardless of where or what kind of work, it is necessary to acquire a thorough understanding of the actual conditions of the locality and work, otherwise, it will be impossible to carry out work well. When he was working in the revolutionary base area of the Central Committee, Comrade Chen Yun said that when leading the workers of the soviet area in carrying out economic struggle, the party and the trade union "must correct bureaucracy," and "carefully acquaint themselves with the economic capability of each and every store and workshop of various trades, and based on actual conditions, set economic demands suited to every enterprise." (p 10) He said that in order to have correct and appropriate leadership, a party organization must first familiarize itself with specific conditions within and outside the party, and understand its own history and environment, otherwise, it will not be able to give correct and appropriate guidance. He pointed out that the "leftist" and right mistakes in work, the experience of mechanically copying the documents of the upper level and in confusion applying the experience of other parts of the country in disregard of specific conditions, and such methods as not thinking carefully, and being satisfied with the formality of calling a few mass meetings and superficial showing of hands to pass motions, are all divorced from reality and the masses, and detrimental to the cause of the party.

It is particularly important for a leading cadre to acquaint himself with actual conditions, and carry out work in accordance with the spirit of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that work plans "must be suited to the line as well as actual objective conditions. The foundation is actual conditions." (p 153) He stressed that in determining and implementing plans and checking up on work, leading organs "must all achieve unanimity of subjective and objective views," "attach importance to our existing characteristics" (p 153), and oppose plans not established on the basis of objective feasibility, work without individuality, and methods without distinguishing features and timeliness. He held that genuine communist leaders "are definitely not inexperienced and boastful people, but people possessing rich experience as well as genuine revolutionary theory." (p 183)

To resolutely implement the spirit of seeking truth from facts, we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Chen Yun said: "To oppose dogmatism and empiricism, we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism." (p 193) Leading cadres must pay attention in particular to improving themselves, and strive to "study theory and the correct method of thinking."

"Making a success of theoretical and ideological methods will be of great benefit to the party and the revolution." (p 193) In 1939, he put forward "the responsibility of party members is to study," and also pointed out that one of the shortcomings of the past is "we have never regarded the study of theory as a responsibility party members should discharge for the party." (p 121)

To persist in seeking truth from facts, we must first respect the masses. Learning to arouse the masses to emancipate themselves is a required course for every revolutionary. He pointed out: "To enable the work of our party to take a big stride forward, the fundamental problem lies in developing mass work." (p 96) Without mass work, there also can be no party consolidation and progress. This has been borne out by past experience. He said: "Only if there are close ties between the party and the masses, and only if the party branch can really become the nucleus of the masses, can this party become a consolidated party, and can this branch become a fortress of the party among the masses." (p 99)

Then, how should we carry out mass work? Comrade Chen Yun clearly pointed out: "We must pay attention to problems of immediate concern to the masses, and help them solve difficulties. This is the key to mobilizing the masses." (p 106) He vividly made the analogy of a locked door. To enter the house, we must have a key to open the lock, and this key is doing the kind of work the masses are willing to do, and not rigidly doing what we want to do. Some of the comrades think that problems of immediate concern to the masses should be problems of a fundamental nature, and minor matters of daily life are of little importance. This viewpoint is one-sided. Problems of immediate concern to the masses include many problems in daily life. All these which appear to be trivial matters nevertheless reflect the feelings, difficulties, and demands of the masses. We not only should not treat them lightly, but we must also regard them as important tasks and place them on the party's agenda. At the same time, while solving interests of immediate concern to the masses, we definitely cannot forget the general task of the party. We must extensively propagate this general task to the masses of people, so that everybody will understand "where lies the fundamental interest of the working class and the people of the whole country." (p 256) He said: "We must take an interest in and help solve all problems related to interests of immediate concern to the workers. However, if we have not fulfilled our general task, it will be impossible to completely solve these problems, and even if a part of them have been solved, this also cannot be sustained." (pp 256-257) He pointed out that mass work, which has remained at the level of the slogan of "food and wages," is not enough. Any specific work carried out should be linked to the task put forward by the upper level. We must lead the masses in moving forward and raise their enthusiasm and political consciousness, so that they will show more concern for the important matters of the party and the state, consciously and initiatively overcome temporary difficulties, and subordinate individual, immediate, and partial interests to collective, long-term, and overall interests. Only by organically integrating the long-term interests of the masses with immediate interests, and overall interests with partial interests, can work be really carried out well. If we do this, the masses will have more faith in our party, and the prestige of the party will become higher and higher.

One important idea highlighted in "Selected Works of Chen Yun" is that we cannot be separated from the masses, even for a moment. This is the most fundamental starting point as well as the end result of Comrade Chen Yun's method of thinking and work style of seeking truth from facts. It informs us that only by establishing a staunch mass viewpoint can a communist or party cadre unswervingly persist in seeking truth from facts.

## II. Personally Ascertain Conditions, Integrate Routine Work With the Central Task of the Party

To persist in the method of thinking and work style of seeking truth from facts, the most fundamental demand is to ascertain specific conditions. On the basis of ascertaining specific conditions, one must also be good at summing up conditions and problems centered on one's work, and link routine work with the central task as well as the objective of struggle of the party. Without a good grasp of actual conditions, one will become an armchair politician. If routine work is not integrated with the central task of the party, one will turn into an unrealistic routineer. Only by ascertaining specific conditions, and also by being good at summing up conditions and problems centered on work as well as the objective of the party, can one truly become a politically brilliant revolutionary. This is what Comrade Chen Yun has done for scores of years. When he was working for the workers movement and the peasant movement, doing secret work for the party, setting up revolutionary base areas, supervising organizational work, and leading economic work, he always accurately grasped the conditions of that particular department or line of work, and became an expert in that particular department or line of work. Just as he said: "To be a revolutionary, one cannot merely indulge in loud and empty talk. The main thing is there are 360 types of work carried out by workers, peasants, soldiers, students, and tradesmen, and this means one must do all kinds of practical work." (p 188) One must learn to solve problems, and "become an 'expert on society' and a 'specialist' inside the party." (p 172) At the same time, one must also be able to integrate routine work with the central task of the party, and based on the fresh experience supplied by actual work, form their own viewpoint and opinion, and propose correct policies and methods for that particular department and line of work. Just as the "publishing notes" said: "From these writings, we can see that in the protracted struggle of the new democratic revolution led by the party, in whatever work Comrade Chen Yun was responsible for, he always promptly summed up experiences and made explicit, correct, and effective general and specific policies based on the principle of seeking truth from facts."

When he was doing economic work in Yanan, Comrade Chen Yun often went to the new market to acquaint himself with conditions, see what the peasants were buying and selling, and investigate the situation of market supply and demand. After moving to Beijing, he also invariably visited such places as department stores, the Tianqiao shopping center, and the Dongdan vegetable market to acquaint himself with market conditions and gather firsthand material. Like the other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, Comrade Chen Yun was familiar with actual conditions and understood the hardships of the masses, therefore, he was able to propose pertinent views as well as major

economic policies for solving problems. Comrade Chen Yun served 7 years as the director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee. He always thoroughly acquainted himself with and studied a whole set of problems concerning party building directed at party members, party branches, the building of party organizations, and cadre policies, as well as the building of cadre ranks, the mass line, secret work, and methods of leadership, and also made numerous brilliant expositions. Relevant writings in this connection in "Selected Works" have not only more practically and concretely reflected the teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong on party building, but also supplemented and developed them in certain respects.

Many of our cadres, when conducting investigations and study, often have one defect, and that is, in going to the basic level and among the masses to acquaint themselves with conditions, they are not good at putting forward questions based on the characteristics of their own work, or at summing up the conditions and problems understood centered on their own work as well as the central task of the party. The conditions they discuss seem to be the problem of this as well as that kind of work. They cannot explain clearly the essence of the problem, and cannot grasp accurately the vital point. They also cannot suggest effective countermeasures and policies to solve the problem, and can only say some conventional phrases, thereby causing the work to lose vitality. This is a manifestation that the work has no ideological content, and also a manifestation that the working ability of the cadre is not strong. When discussing the criteria for selecting cadres, Comrade Chen Yun specially listed "the ability to independently determine the orientation of work, and shoulder responsibility" (p 146) as a criterion, and pointed out that for a cadre "the condition of being able to work independently is to study, and integrate theory with practice," and "it will not do to be without theory, and merely relying on experience is not enough." (p 146) This point is very important. Since our party has become the ruling party, it is even more necessary for party cadres to have the consciousness of improving their own ability, otherwise, as the years go by, they will lag behind the situation, and work will be adversely affected.

The method of leadership has something to do with whether routine work can be properly integrated with the central task of the party. Comrade Chen Yun has written an article in the 1930's instructing the cadres to take part in discussions on the question of the method of leadership. He said: "The method of leadership of cadres is the key to doing work well. Having a correct draft resolution is still not enough, and putting the resolution to use among the masses so that it will become the guide for actual work must still go through a kind of clever work method as well as a skillful leadership style." (p 24) A good leading member must be good at going deep among the masses "to acquaint himself with the mentality of the masses" (p 23), and mechanically and crudely approaching the masses is not the style of a good leading member. Comrade Chen Yun said: "The art of our leadership is not determined by how many and how high-sounding are the slogans, but by making every slogan acceptable to the masses at the time and place in question, and immediately arousing them to struggle. In the process of the struggle, we must not let slip any opportunity to heighten the enthusiasm

and political consciousness of the masses for struggle, and enable them to struggle for more high-sounding slogans." (p 26) Comrade Chen Yun, in the article "Is the Method of Leadership of This Inspector Good?" pointed out that the reason for the failure of this form of leadership is not because this inspector has not gone among the masses, but because he has not genuinely acquainted himself with reality and with the masses. In the first place, he could not bring up the problems the masses urgently demanded to solve, did not understand the mentality of the masses, and could not integrate the things the masses wanted to do with the task of the party. In the second place, he had not grasped the sentiment of the masses, and he not only could not mobilize the masses to discuss problems which must be solved and methods for completing the task, but he also could not teach the cadres specific methods for carrying out the work and fulfilling the task. Therefore, he was mocked by the masses for "talking like a bureaucrat."

A good leading member must give specific and practical instructions to the department and the subordinates under his leadership. In "Selected Works" we can see that, based on the specific nature of work and in the light of the central task of the party at each period, Comrade Chen Yun has always given specific work instructions conforming to party policy and Marxist principle to the subordinates. For example, when he was in charge of trade union work in the soviet area, he instructed everyone on how to make labor contracts. When he was serving concurrently as director of the department in charge of work in the White area, he concretely put forward a method for spotting spies. When he was serving as director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee, he always gave extremely clear and specific instructions on party branch work, organizational work, and cadre work, and as for how to develop mass work, he supplied many and even more detailed experiences and methods. During the Yanan period, he said to the comrades working in the Organization Department of the Central Committee, as well as those around him: Your job is to acquaint yourself with the cadres, and the appraisal of cadres is not your main concern; the thing you must always bear in mind is whether or not the facts and conditions understood will stand the test of time. All these have explained that when assigning work and tasks to the lower levels, Comrade Chen Yun not only clearly put forward the tasks and demands, but also "patiently and concretely informed them of methods for solving the difficulties encountered." (p 25)

### III. Adhere to the Overall Viewpoint, Overcome the One-Sided Viewpoint

Seeking truth from facts means looking at a problem from all sides. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that there are two defects in the question of understanding people: "One is the defect of looking at people with only one eye, seeing only one aspect and not all aspects, and not being able to see all sides; the other is the defect of looking at what this person is doing today without looking at what he has done in the past, and seeing only the relative superiority and inferiority of his ability without seeing the quality of his innate character." (p 45) He said that the standpoint of using people is mainly to make use of his strong points, so that his strong points can be developed and his shortcomings can be overcome. Generally speaking, nobody within the revolutionary ranks is without at least one



strong point and without at least one merit, and there is also nobody without at least one shortcoming and without at least one demerit. For instance, it is naturally not good for a person to be arrogant and conceited, but if he has confidence in his work and a bit of ability, as long as his instruction is appropriate, this kind of person will be able to produce results.

On the question of developing party members, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that there used to be a tendency within the party of seeking only "pure" elements, and not daring to take elements with family and social connections or more complicated personal social experience into the party. Therefore, there appeared a kind of strange phenomenon: The son has joined the party, but the father is still not a party member, and the ideological progress of the son has been made under the influence of the father. In the light of this kind of problem, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The purity we are talking about is mainly not the simple purity of being younger in age and without social connections, but refers to the purity of loyally persisting in the struggle for communism under complex and turbulent circumstances." (p 134) Comrade Chen Yun correctly analyzed the complicated situation of the former society, and proposed "smashing the former traditional standpoint of 'all elements of the middle and upper strata are no good.'" (p 162) These ideas played an important guiding role at that time in strengthening the revolutionary forces as well as in consolidating and developing the party organizations.

Comrade Chen Yun was director of the old Organization Department of the party and had rich experience in cadre matters. The importance he attached to the cadres and his affection for the cadres are well known throughout the party. He is concerned with the development of the cadres, and not only carries out ideological education as well as policy education on them, but also concretely teaches them methods of developing work and becoming good leading members. He is concerned with the political life of the cadres, and he always very earnestly, prudently and carefully deals with any problem in this respect. Precisely because of this spirit of cherishing the cadres, he has helped many of the comrades to straighten things out and get rid of their political burden, so that they can cheerfully and actively return to their work. He also said: If a person has made mistakes, we should help him to correct them. If he has made merits in the past, we must make a comparison of his merits and demerits before dealing with him. Even if he has made mistakes in the past, as long as he is conscious of his mistakes after criticism, he can still atone for his mistakes by good deeds. "We communists are impartial and fair. Anyone who has made mistakes, as long as he is conscious of his mistakes and earnestly makes amends, should be allowed to continue working for the revolution within the revolutionary ranks" (p 56), because this will be to the advantage of the revolution.

Comrade Chen Yun has also set strict demands on the cadres. He is opposed to the style of being fond of hearing others speak well of oneself, as well as the philistine habit of flattering and fawning on others. In 1938, he said: "We must not 'lavish praises' on the cadres and talk only about their good points." (p 56) If we only say good things about a cadre and cover up his shortcomings, he will cultivate the habit of arrogance and conceit, and

become unrealistic in work, and this will be detrimental to both the cadre himself and the cause of the party. Comrade Chen Yun incisively pointed out: There is a finicky air among some of the cadres, and "that is, many people are fond of people saying good things about them, and dislike people saying bad things about them. Some of the people can only stand promotion but not demotion, and they claim all the credits for themselves and avoid all the blame." (p 213) The essence of this finicky air is individualism, and they have mishandled the relations between the individual and the party, and between the individual and the people. How should we appraise our work? "In the first place, the common people want revolution. As communists, we are only doing a small thing suited to the demand of the common people under the leadership of the party." (p 218) Anyone who becomes separated from the people and the party will not be able to accomplish anything. As for people with pronounced nonproletarian ideas and the comrades who have made mistakes, Comrade Chen Yun always solemnly pointed them out without the slightest ambiguity. He also said that the development of criticism and self-criticism "must pay attention to the truth and not to sparing somebody's sensitivities." (p 218) "We must proceed from safeguarding the interests of the party, adhere to principles, and seek truth from facts." (p 117) He held that discussing problems and looking at problems from the angle of one's own prestige will be mingled with personal advantages and disadvantages. One will not be able to see clearly or to pay attention to the truth, and the result will certainly be harmful to others as well as to oneself.

Comrade Chen Yun has specially written an article entitled "Cadres Must Set Strict Demands on Themselves," and pointed out: "Many of the cadres are only stressing at present that the party must correctly implement the policy for cadres, but they have not paid attention to using the criteria for cadres to set strict demands on themselves." (p 187) They only demand "how the party should take care of them, understand them, and cherish them. On the contrary, they have ignored the four criteria for cadres (loyalty to the party, ties with the masses, ability to work independently, and observation of discipline) that a cadre should pay special attention to, and have placed them in a secondary position, or have even basically forgotten them." (p 187) Every party cadre must set strict demands on himself based on the criteria of the party for cadres. Only in this way can our cadres shoulder the tasks handed them by the party, and become models for party members in general as well as the masses.

Comrade Chen Yun has made a very thorough study of Mao Zedong Thought. While in Yanan, he took advantage of his period of convalescence to read through all the works of Comrade Mao Zedong as well as telegram manuscripts. He arrived at the conclusion that they are all permeated with the thought of "seeking truth from facts." On the first anniversary of the death of Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Chen Yun wrote a commemorative article entitled "Adhere to the Revolutionary Style of Seeking Truth From Facts." He said: "I want to discuss in particular the revolutionary work style of seeking truth from facts initiated by Chairman Mao. Seeking truth from facts is not an ordinary question of work style; this is a question of the basic ideological line of Marxist materialism." "Whether or not the revolutionary work style

of seeking truth from facts is adhered to is in fact one of the basic criteria for distinguishing between genuine and sham Marxism-Leninism, and between genuine and sham Mao Zedong Thought." (See RENMIN RIBAO, 28 September 1977)

During the Yanan rectification period, Comrade Chen Yun said to the comrades working around him: In doing any work, "do not take the instructions of the upper level or books as the only criteria, but take facts as the only criteria." After the nationwide liberation, Comrade Chen Yun also talked about: "All-round, comparison, and repetition." Namely: The observation of a problem must be all-round, and the understanding of any problem must be all-round. Comparison means analytical study, comparison with the past, and comparison with the surroundings. Therefore, everybody must have more contacts with the masses, and more exchanges of views with the comrades. Repetition means going into reality for practice and verification, adhering to the truth, and correcting mistakes. These characters and words are extremely simple and easy to understand, but they have nevertheless profoundly expounded the method of thinking and work style of seeking truth from facts consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong.

The revolutionary practice as well as the writings of Comrade Chen Yun in the last several decades have provided us with an example to follow in adhering to the method of thinking and work style of seeking truth from facts. His profound thinking, simple language, dependable work style, and highly effective form of leadership have educated all the comrades working around him as well as those under his leadership, and also educated all the party members. It is precisely this kind of thinking and work style that enabled our party to create a new situation during the period of great hardship in pioneering work, surmount natural disasters and man-made calamities, and return once more on the path of victory. Today, the whole party and the whole country are struggling to achieve the great strategic goal of "quadrupling" the annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century, and our party members and cadres should more vigorously study and master the method of thinking and work style of seeking truth from facts, so as to more properly create a new situation, and enable the cause of our socialist modernization to become more flourishing with each passing day.

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WE ALSO MUST HAVE CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF MARX' IDEA ABOUT ALIENATION OF LABOR

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[Article by Xiong Fu [3574 1788]]

[Text] In his article "On the Problem of Humanism and Alienation," Comrade Qiaomu made use of the basic principles of Marxism to give a scientific answer to the question discussed among theoretical circles in our country in recent years on humanism and alienation and the important issues of whether or not to insist on the basic principles of Marxism and whether or not it is possible to correctly understand practices in socialism. He also made pertinent remarks on certain erroneous views. In his criticism of the "socialist alienation theory," Comrade Qiaomu clearly pointed out that Marx, in his "1844 Manuscript on Philosophy of Economics" (hereafter called "Manuscript"), mentioned the ideology of the alienation of labor and took "alienation" as the basic category to prove the historical certainty of the fall of capitalism and the realization of communism. But after 1845, he rapidly disentangled himself from this method of speculative philosophy. This provides us with the key to an intense understanding of Marx' concept of alienation of labor.

We have come to know that the alienation of labor is the central concept in the "Manuscript," and is the nucleus formed by Marx from his own theories on philosophy, economics, and communism. This being the case, does it signify the admission of, or prove, the following viewpoint: That all of Marx' theories are developed from the "alienation of labor," and that "alienation of labor" is the "theoretical basis" of Marxism? It is precisely because some comrades harbor this viewpoint that they have taken the concept of the alienation of labor from the "Manuscript" and have applied it to socialism. Unfortunately, if we make an earnest historical survey of the concept of the alienation of labor mentioned by Marx in his "Manuscript," it can readily be found that there is no basis for this viewpoint.

We have seen that in the course of the development of Marx' theories, he made two abrupt turns. Aside from the first abrupt turn, made in 1842-1844, from idealism and revolutionary democratism to materialism and communism, another even more important turn was made in 1845-1848, when historical materialism was created, that is, a turn from the old materialism, taking abstract man as the starting point, to historical materialism, taking

production relations as the starting point, and from unscientific communism, taking an abstract rational concept as the starting point, to scientific communism, taking the analysis of capitalist production relations on the basis of historical materialism as the starting point. Moreover, only after 20 years of research, with the greatest concentration after 1848, in particular after Marx' formulation in the 1840's, through exposition in his treatise "Das Kapital" of the materialist world outlook, did it become a "scientifically proven truth" after being "only temporary and a mere supposition." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 7, 10) As Lenin pointed out, Marx' scientific communist theories were formulated from conclusions "completely and solely based on the law of economic development of a modern society" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 51) and not logically derived from the concept of reason of speculation philosophy. This fact tells us that the first turning point in Marx' thinking, though embodying certain factors of a new world outlook, by no means signified that it became the theoretical basis for a new world outlook or that the development of his later thinking was a mere continuance of the first turning point and that there was no new leap in quality.

As we make study further, we can also discern that in order to formulate a new world outlook, Marx met with various complex and difficult problems in theory and practice. This state of affairs gave him a special feature in the early development of his thinking, namely, a contradiction between the new starting point and the old starting point and a contradiction between the new historical outlook and the old historical outlook. These contradictions came as a result of the influences on Marx of Feuerbach's thinking on the one hand, of Marx having surpassed Feuerbach on the other. The publication of the latter's book, "The Essential Character of Christianity," greatly stirred both Marx and Engels. As Engels said: "For a time we have all become followers of Feuerbach's clique." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 218) They came to realize only eventually that Feuerbach's materialism was not thorough, because his historical outlook was idealism. To use Marx' words: "When he probes history, he surely is not a materialist." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 51) Subsequently, when Marx reached the second turning point in the development of his thinking, he criticized not only Feuerbach but also himself. This was because Marx, after turning from idealism to materialism through Feuerbach, took an entirely different road from Feuerbach. Like the latter, Marx was persecuted by the reactionary Prussian government, but Feuerbach had long ago moved to the countryside and lived a peaceful life removed from politics. Marx, however, after settling down in Paris in 1843, directly took part in the workers' revolutionary movement and found himself squarely in the middle of the whirlpool of politics and the revolutionary tempest. In this way, Marx, on the one hand, followed Feuerbach and used his speculative method embodying certain factors of the idealist historical outlook with abstract man as the starting point and, on the other hand, was discontented with Feuerbach's "overemphasis of nature and insufficient stress on politics." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, p 443) This caused contradictions in the early stage of Marx' thinking. These contradictions were concretely manifested as follows: Marx' early thinking, though embodying a new starting point and certain elements of a new historical outlook, at the

same time not only was not segregated from Hegel's speculative method of idealism, but also did not fully overcome Feuerbach's humanism, particularly his historical outlook of idealism. For example, in the "Manuscript," on the one hand, he advocated that "man is a social being," which is an approach to historical materialism, while on the other hand, he also said that "man is a quasi-being," that is, he took man's nature as man's fixed abstraction. During this period, the contradictions in Marx' development of thinking were most obviously manifested in his "Manuscript's" many references to, and discussions on, the concept of the alienation of labor.

First, the concept of the alienation of labor in Marx' "Manuscript" not only embodies the elements of materialism but also carries the features of Feuerbach's humanism. At first, in the concept of the alienation of labor, his perception of problems was already focused on man in reality, that is, concerning the relations between workers and capitalists. This definitely was different from what Feuerbach mentioned as man in abstract. Moreover, precisely this focus of Marx' perception of problems clearly indicates that he had begun to come face to face with men in reality in actual society, as well as their material activities and social relations. He was striving to locate the social causes of the antipathy between citizens, social workers, and capitalists, trying hard to provide a theoretical basis for eliminating the system of private ownership, and trying to bring forward the tenet of the historical mission of the proletariat. He reached this tenet in Paris when he was with Engels and they were beginning their participation in the revolutionary activities of the French and German nationals. However, before reaching the second turning point, the materialist stand, viewpoint, and method that he manifested through this theoretical form of the alienation of labor were, like Feuerbach, a continuance of taking man in abstract as the starting point and discussing man's generic nature [lei ben zhi 7352 2609 6347], the alienation and restoration of human nature. Despite their differences in determining man's generic nature--Feuerbach specified man's generic nature as the nature of man in abstract in a biological sense, whereas Marx specified labor as man's generic nature. What Marx mentioned here as labor was still labor in a general and abstract sense. When in his "Manuscript" Marx explained man's generic nature as labor, because he was not able to explain the different nature of labor under different socioeconomic conditions, the result was that what he said as labor became a kind of non-historical and unreal labor, thereby making man, as he said, become in reality a sort of man in abstract. Expressing the theoretical form of his stand, viewpoint, and method of that time by means of the alienation and restoration of the nature of man in abstract obviously was a sort of old starting point and old historical outlook, hence the impossibility of explaining or clarifying the actual relations between workers and capitalists in actual society.

Thus despite the alienation of labor on the surface appearing to be a problem emanating from the economic sector, and seems to be related to historical materialism, yet, in reality, it has never provided people with any truly legitimate knowledge of sociohistorical development. Some comrades like to quote the following passages from the "Manuscript": "Labor is something that produces miracles for the rich, but breeds poverty for the

workers. Labor creates palaces but builds slums for the workers. Labor creates beauty, but turns workers into queer-looking beings." "Labor generates wisdom but makes workers stupid and dull-witted." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 93) They cited these passages to serve as a theoretical basis for the unveiling of the secrets of a capitalist society from the alienation of labor. In reality, these passages only described the phenomena of capitalists exploiting the workers and were not a revelation of the nature of the capitalists' exploitation of the workers. Hence, bringing up the concept of the alienation of labor did not denote that Marx had already built a foundation for historical materialism. The history of the development of Marx' ideology proves that the guiding factors for Marx' gradual approach to, shaping and ultimate creation of historical materialism were, counting from the time of the transition from the first turning point to the second turning point, the stand he took in line with the proletariat, the materialist viewpoint that he observed, and criticized, the real society in which workers and capitalists were sharply opposed to each other, his actual practices in the revolutionary activities of the proletariat, and the tenet of the historical mission of the proletariat which he began to derive therefrom, but certainly not the abstract concept of the alienation of labor. In striking contrast, the concept of the alienation of labor carrying the features of Feuerbach's humanism not only cannot differentiate between the new viewpoint of a new world outlook Marx was approaching and Feuerbach's philosophical humanism, but also dims and blurs the real significance of Marx' new viewpoint.

Second, for the same reason, although in the "Manuscript" Marx linked the concept of the alienation of labor with communist thinking, during that period the communist thinking that he conceived was still a sort of rational concept specially shown in humanism, and still had not gone through conversion on the basis of historical materialism, and while it already embodied his violent and progressive sentiments in politics, it carried no scientific testimony that the realization of communism would come as the natural result of the development of the objective laws of capitalist society.

Marx, still in his early youth, felt unlimited sympathy for the tragic predicament of the workers in capitalist society. He had faith in the proletariat, supported the liberation struggles of the proletariat, and firmly believed that only such struggles could restructure society; his understanding of communism was the abandonment of the system of private ownership. These constituted the guiding thought and positive side of the "Manuscript." Nevertheless, how to describe and explain the problems confronting the workers' movement at the time, and how to scientifically demonstrate the inevitable realization of communism, still posed a difficult problem for Marx. On the one hand, he was not satisfied with the various kinds and shapes of socialist reformation projects that were in circulation for a time; on the other hand, he had not yet set up his own political economy and was still unable to make any scientific demonstration of communism from the side of the law of social development, but he did eventually. The level of understanding of communism he had cultivated at that time was centralized in the following passage of the "Manuscript":

"Communism is for the active discarding of privately owned property, that is, man's self-alienation and hence the true possession of man's nature through man and for the sake of man; for this reason, it is man's restoration of self and society's (that is, man's) man; this restoration is complete, conscious and preserves all wealth developed in the past. This type of communism, like perfected naturalism, is equivalent to humanism, and humanism that has been completed is equivalent to naturalism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 120) This passage from Marx may be briefly summarized into two points: 1) Communism represents the true possession of the nature of man; 2) communism is man's restoration of man. This may also be construed as Marx' understanding of communism at the time. Hence, we can understand why at that time Marx termed communism as "humanism" and "naturalism." However, this interpretation is obviously inherited from Feuerbach.

Feuerbach termed his own "renben zhuyi" [0806 2609 0031 5030] as "humanism" (humanitarianism), and "naturalism." His mention of "humanism" and "naturalism" was made in reference to the relations between gold and man, that is, taking man as a natural being. As he saw it, the sublation of alienation reflected man's return to harmony with nature. Herein we can readily see that when Marx mentioned "communism as being the sublation of the alienation of man," he said it to imply the meaning conceived by Feuerbach, that is, alienation was meant to denote the state of man's running counter to nature--society's suppression of man's natural needs and the state of society forcing on the individual a life which runs counter to nature, implying satisfaction of natural needs only by unnatural means. In Marx' "Manuscript," this was referred to as alienation of the nature of man. Seen from this context, the opposing contradiction against the capitalist system is only a contradiction between man's nature and the private ownership system, which is not in conformity with this nature, but deforms it. Herein, it is obvious that man's nature is still not yet taken as the sum total of definite social relations. Subsequently, we came to be told by Marx, following his setting up of historical materialism, that the reason for the proletariat's demand to eradicate the production relations of capitalism was not because these relations were in violation of nature, but because these relations enslaved and exploited the proletariat and impeded the development of the productive force; the proletariat's struggle against capitalism and the historical inevitability of communism replacing capitalism came from the source of the opposing contradiction between the production force and production relations under the system of capitalism and the historically temporary character of the capitalist system resulting therefrom.

Lenin once pointed out: "Formerly what adherents to socialism needed to support or prove their viewpoint constituted only pointing out the state of the masses suffering from persecution under the existing system, the superior feature of the system which could enable each person to obtain the things that he himself produced, this ideological system's suitability to 'the nature of man' and to the concept of a rationally moral life, and so on. In Marx' opinion, he was not satisfied with such a system of socialism." "He expressed his dissatisfaction with the conclusion that only the socialist



system was suitable to the nature of man as reached by the great utopian socialists and their paltry descendants, the subjective sociologists. What he did was to make use of an objective analysis of the capitalist system to prove the inevitability of the capitalist system being replaced by the socialist system." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 137-138) Obviously, Marx' description of communist ideology in the "Manuscript" contained the features of this rationally moral life mentioned by Lenin. This is because in the "Manuscript," use of the concept of alienation in communism's refutation of capitalism still has as its supporting basis the contradiction between man's nature with the capitalist system. While this type of conclusion referring to communism as "restoration of human nature" ensuring the meeting of the unclear or unspecified demands of "man's real life" has the feature of an ethical criticism and moral assessment of capitalism, naturally it is still not a scientific argument for communism.

From this it can be seen that at the time of Marx' writing of the "Manuscript," that is, prior to his formation of the new world outlook of historical materialism, he still followed Hegel's line of using alienation to explain the absolute spirit and also followed Feuerbach to use alienation in explanation of God's speculative method, to resort to the use of the alienation of labor to explain the relations between the workers and the capitalists, and to criticize the capitalist system. However, following his participation in the proletariat's actual practices in revolutionary activities and after making an intensive study of capitalist economic relations, he increasingly came to believe that Feuerbach's philosophical methodology of taking the alienation of man and man's nature as the starting point could not adequately solve the problems he had met with in the revolutionary practices; and that to solve these problems it would be necessary to place his own doctrine on the higher plane of a new starting point and new historical outlook. Marx' compilation "On Feuerbach's Outline" was warmly praised by Engels as "Document No 1 illustrating 'the germinating by a genius' of a new world outlook." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 208-209) This was not without reason, because precisely in this compilation Marx clearly expostulated that "man's nature is not something abstract fixed with the individual. Rather, in essence, it is the sum total of all social relations." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) This illustrates well that he criticized not only Hegel's speculative philosophy and Feuerbach's humanism, but also the influences of Hegel and Feuerbach on him. In this way, precisely because he overcame the old starting point and the old historical outlook, set up a new starting point and a new historical outlook, and solved his ideological contradiction in the transition from the period of the first turning point to the second new period that Marx was able to combine and sum up his subsequent revolutionary practices and set up an integrated ideological system of scientific communism. In short, in Marx' mature writings, the concept of alienation was no longer the central theme and Marx' occasional use of this concept was because at that time this concept had already been absolved of man's generic nature and of the nature and content of this type of humanism and had become common terminology for describing certain economic phenomena relating to wage labor under the capitalist system.

It may be said that in Marx' "Manuscript" the alienation of labor which he employed as a central concept is not the starting point of historical materialism, nor the starting point of scientific communism, but the theoretical manifestation of the influence Marx had derived from Feuerbach's humanism with the alienation of human nature as the nucleus. It was only in his classical elucidation of historical materialism found in the preface he subsequently wrote for his "Critique of Political Economy" that Marx made a scientific explanation of the law of development of human society. This relevant passage said: "In the course of the social production related to their own life, people have developed definite and inevitable relations which cannot be shifted by their wishes, that is, production relations conforming with a definite development stage of their material productive force. The sum total of these production relations constitute the economic structure of society, that is, an actual foundation with a legal and political edifice on top and conforming with a definite social ideological form. The production form of material life restricts the course of the entire social life, political life, and spiritual life. It is not man's consciousness that determines man's existence or being. In contrast, it is man's social existence that determines man's consciousness. When the material productive force of society has developed to a certain stage, it will conflict with the existing production relations or property relations (a legal term for production relations) which have been active all along. As a result, these relations will effect a change from being a form of the development of the productive force to becoming the shackles of the productive force. The time for social revolution will then be ripe. Following changes in the economic foundation, the upper-level structures will slowly or quickly go through reforms." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 82-83) Precisely in this way Marx employed this new world outlook of historical materialism to observe and analyze a capitalist society and made a close study of the objective laws governing capitalist production forms and eventually discovered the theory of surplus value, expounding and proving the historical inevitability of a transition from capitalism to communism, and thereby absolving communist doctrine of any utopian nature and setting it on a scientific basis.

Summing up the above, the concept of the alienation of labor which Marx touched upon in his earlier writings was a kind of reflection, in the course of his establishment of historical materialism, of the contradiction between new and old starting points and between new and old historical outlooks. The creation of historical materialism solved this contradiction. The setting up of this new world outlook precisely denoted the complete breakdown of the employment of such speculative methods as so-called "alienation of man's nature," "sublation of alienation," and "restoration of human nature" to expound and prove communism. It was precisely because Marx abandoned the speculative method of the old starting point and old historical outlook embodied in the concept of the alienation of labor that he set up and developed the scientifically based Marxist theories. Thus, how can we say that the concept of the alienation of labor mentioned in the "Manuscript" was the "starting point" or "theoretical basis" of Marxism?

Some comrades took the concept of the alienation of labor as the "starting point" of Marxism because they believed: that Marx discovered the theory of surplus value through the alienation of labor; and that the discovery from the alienation of labor to the theory of surplus value constituted the logic of the development of Marxist ideology. Also, some comrades took the alienation of labor as the "scaffold" of historical materialism which served the purpose of building the entire so-called "new system" of Marxist historical outlook. These beliefs were groundless.

To discover the secrets of a capitalist society, naturally it is necessary to make a survey of man's labor. But if we carefully read Marx' writings, it can easily be found that in the "Manuscript" and "Das Kapital," the methods of surveying labor basically differed. In the "Manuscript," Marx abstractly treated man's labor as separate from the relations between man and nature. The abstract treatment of man's labor was originally the viewpoint of capitalist classical economists and utopian socialists. Adam Smith and others, suffering from the restrictions of their capitalist stand, were unable to study labor from the historical angle and could only abstractly consider labor as man's leisurely sacrifice. But in the "Manuscript" Marx insisted on the viewpoint advocated by Fu-li-ye [0265 3539 5509] and accepted by many other communists. In reality, this viewpoint treated labor from the angle of differentiating between man and animals, implied that labor made man become "quasi-beings" and different from animals, made labor become the special feature differentiating man from animals and made labor the innate character of man. Young Marx came to believe that the innate character of man's labor had become alienated in the "citizens' society," that man had lost the essence of labor, becoming "non-man," but that in a communist society, the essence of man's labor was restored and "non-man" became man once again. This theory of taking labor, abstract, perfect, and in conformity with the rationality concept as it is, as the logical premise for alienation and basis for restoration obviously cannot solve the riddle of history. In a primitive society when man was still in an uncivilized era, not only was the production form extremely backward, but also people were cannibals. At that time, labor was performed under conditions of the horrors of nature, and were extremely crude and burdensome and, obviously, social development basically could not comprehend the restoration of such labor. Man's passage through a slave society to the civilized age and through a feudal society to a capitalist society marked enormous progress in the civilization of mankind. Naturally, this civilization includes labor in its fold. Despite their status as thorough critics of any system of exploitation, Marx and Engels, in their mature writings, repeatedly elucidated the viewpoint of this type of historical materialism.

Following Marx' discovery of the material outlook and the theory of surplus value, he clearly pointed out: "In the very beginning, the process of labor was studied as the process between man and nature, abstractly and apart from its various historical forms." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 555) This form of study is naturally necessary, since labor is a basic element differentiating man from animals. But labor in general, like production conditions in general, is "only an abstract element and its employment cannot effect an understanding of any actual historical

production stage." (See "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46A, p 25) Marx never put aside the study of labor from the relations of man and nature. Chapter V of "Das Kapital" began with a study of "labor as specially related to man," and made a differentiation between man's labor and the activities of animals, making use of Franklin's definition of man as "a tool-making animal or living being." However, in Marx' opinion, this type of study of labor does not belong to the realm of mankind's sociological studies, but is a problem that must be solved by natural science, because, "the labor process, speaking from what we mentioned in the foregoing about its simple and abstract element, is an activity which has an objective and that is the creation of use value. It takes possession of natural objects for the benefit of mankind's needs, is a general condition for the material conversion between man and nature and is the everlasting and natural condition for mankind's livelihood." "For this reason, we do not need to describe the relations between a worker and other workers. All we care is that on the one side there are man and labor and on the other side, nature and materials. The taste of wheat cannot tell us by whose toil it was planted. Similarly, according to the labor process, we cannot see under what conditions it has been pursued." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, pp 208-209) Here, Marx explained two points: 1) Study of labor from the relations between man and nature can only explain the relations between man and nature. This is because this type of labor is a purposeful activity of man in the creation of use value. 2) In the study of labor from the relations between man and nature, although this type of labor is the basis of the relations between man and man, it still cannot directly explain the relations between man and man. But capital and surplus value in essence constitute a kind of relations between man and man and cannot be discovered through the alienation of the innate character of man's labor. Use of the relations between man and nature to stealthily replace the relations between man and man and thereby convert the relations between man and man into everlasting and unchangeable natural relations is precisely the customary method employed by economists of the capitalist class. Exactly on this point, Marx pointed out: "In accordance with this exceptionally logical reason, Colonel Torrence discovered the origin of capital from the savages' stones." (Ibid., p 209) It is precisely in this way that economists of the capitalist class classified capital as something that is everlasting and that coexists with human society from beginning to end.

From this it can be seen that the study of labor merely from the relations between man and nature and employment of this general type of labor to study society does not conform with the historical materialist methodology of Marxism. "This example of labor clearly points out that, even in the most abstract category, and precisely because this abstract quality fits in with all ages, speaking from the regulated nature of this abstract quality, all are products of historical relations and embody full significance only in respect of these relations and within these relations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46, p 43) This is to say: Labor is always performed under definite social relations and in the course of labor men develop definite mutual relations--production relations. The nature of the production relations determines the nature of labor. Only by starting from the relations between man and man and examining and studying labor under the

production relations of definite historical period can we solve the riddle of human society. But to take labor as the innate character of man in differentiating between man and animals and to derive therefrom the concept of the alienation of labor we cannot logically discover and establish the theory of surplus value. In the second turning point of Marx' thinking, this method of examining and studying the "citizens' society" from the alienation of the innate character of man's labor was abolished, a change was made to concrete historical forms in the study of the process of labor, particularly studying wage labor under capitalist conditions. And only in this way was the theory of surplus value discovered and the riddle of the capitalist society resolved.

From this it can be seen that there are two methods in the study that division of work would inevitably breed alienation and that, therefore, to eliminate alienation, division of work must be abolished. They thus came to the conclusion that because a socialist society has not abolished division of work, alienation is inevitably generated. However, if only we can avoid singly and deliberately treating the theory of division of work in Marxism but grasp it in an overall and systematic manner, we can readily discern that the above viewpoint represents a misinterpretation of the theory of division of work of Marxism.

First, we must make clear the definite meaning of the division of work under Marxism. Marx pointed out: "Division of work as a composite of all special forms of production activities is derived from the material side the composite form of social labor for the production of use value." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 13, p 41) This is to say, division of work belongs to the category of the social productive force. Be it the natural division of work in a primitive society or division of work in a modern society, it is the special character of the social productive force and the necessary prerequisite condition to effectively organizing and continuously increasing the labor productivity rate of society. Just as Marx pointed out: "To increase the productive force of labor, the topmost measure is a more detailed division of work." (See "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 374) Capitalist scholars believe: "Division of work is the result of past progress and the cause of future progress." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, pp 401-402) In "Das Kapital," Marx absorbed, though critically, this rational viewpoint and further pointed out: Division of work "is manifested, in the course of the formation of the social economy, as historical progress and the necessary development factor." (Ibid., p 403) The landmark of the development of the social productive force is the socialization of production, that is, development from small-scale production to socialized large-scale production, which naturally renders division of work daily becoming more universal and in increasingly greater detail. In order to develop the social productive force, division of work is unavoidable and cannot be eliminated. Hence, Marx pointed out: "Division of work on a whole society basis, irrespective of whether or not commodity exchange is involved as a medium, is a common property of various socioeconomic patterns." (Ibid., p 397) But the phenomenon of alienation is not commonly possessed by various socioeconomic patterns. It is an economic phenomenon specially found in capitalist economic patterns. Thus,

the viewpoint that where there is division of work there is alienation and division of work necessarily generates alienation obviously runs counter to Marx' basic viewpoint vis-a-vis division of work.

Second, in "Das Kapital," Marx explained the state of division of work in the handicraft trade and pointed out that in division of work in the handicraft trade, "the means of production have not yet been independently converted into capital to stand in opposition to the workers." (Ibid.) That is, division of work and alienation are not necessarily in liaison. The cause of division of work becoming the alienation force of the workers cannot be sought from division of work itself. Rather, we must make an analysis of the social conditions for conversion of division of work into an alienation force. In a capitalist society, this social condition is capitalists' rule or domination over the workers. In his study of division of work of the handicraft trade in a factory, Marx pointed out: "On the one hand, it is manifested, in the course of the formation of a social economy, as progress in history and the necessary development factor; and, on the other hand, it is a civilized and ingenious exploitation tactic." (Ibid., p 403) The basic cause is not found in division of work itself, but in the capitalist character of the factory's handicraft trade being that is, "the factory's division of work takes capitalists' absolute authority over people as the prerequisite." (Ibid., p 394) Therefore, the scientific conclusion is: What must be eliminated is the socialist condition which renders division of work into an exploitation tactic, namely, the private ownership system of capitalism. It is true that in "Germany's Pattern of Consciousness," Marx did talk about "elimination of division of work," and also mentioned that "division of work and the private ownership system are two terms which mean the same, both referring to the same thing." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 37) But as we see it from the entire course of the development of Marx' thinking and the general outline of his writings, only under conditions of a system of private ownership does division of work carry the character of confrontation, and it is in this context that it and the system of private ownership refer to the same thing. And elimination of division of work refers to elimination of the private ownership system which bestows on division of work the character of confrontation, and not elimination of division of work itself. This is obvious.

If only there is division of work, each person will have his own definite and special sphere of activities. This is only natural, and cannot be changed by man's wishes. This is because each person is governed by restrictions in his capacity to understand and restructure the objective world and his activities cannot cover all areas of mankind's social activities. Even in a communist society, in which the capacity of each person achieves an all-round and free development, what is manifested is the possibility of his rapidly shifting from one production area to one or more other areas, while the existence of the various production areas itself demonstrates the existence of division of work. Following the continuous development of modern society's productive force and science and technology, the continuous creation of new sciences and the ceaseless opening up of new production areas, it has been historically verified that the

tendency of the natural development of division of work is not being removed but rather asserts its powerful force and role as an "enormous lever" is social development. To use Marx' own words: "Division of work will inevitably bring about a more intensive division of work; use of machinery will inevitably attract the more extensive application of machinery; large-scale production will eventually bring in its wake production on an even larger scale. This is the rule of law." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 375) At present, socialist modernization construction in our country does not necessitate the elimination of division of work. On the contrary, we must create the social condition for the further and rapid development of division of work so that it may become a powerful force in the promotion of our country's modernization program. Obviously, socialism has eliminated the private ownership system of capitalism and has also prevented division of work from becoming a social condition which is a sort of "alienation and a force of its confrontation." Although at this stage of socialism people are still governed by restrictions from their own definite and special spheres of activities, this is determined by the development level of production and people's level of education but it absolutely is not alienation. Division of work under socialist conditions is for the purpose of arousing people's enthusiasm, fully displaying people's initiative, and following up wherever possible with rationally assigning work to each social constituent in accordance with the needs of production development and under the guidance of the state's unified plan. At the same time, it staunchly demands that each and every social constituent must consciously take up division of work under the guidance of the unified plan and that people must warmly love their job and their own field of work. This is exactly taking the people's basic interests as the starting point and, in the final analysis, is aware of the people's basic interests. Therefore, the viewpoint that division of work under socialist conditions generates alienation can only make people uneasy about their own job and work, throw into confusion society's entire state and order of work, and damage the people's basic interests.

Some comrades believe that in his early stage Marx employed the alienation of labor to explain the origin of the system of private ownership, of the class, and of the state, and that when he matured he still insisted on this viewpoint. In reality, following the formation of Marxism, he never again employed alienation in any of its meanings to explain the source of the development of such historical phenomena, so this belief has no ground.

We already know that in "Das Kapital" Marx differentiated between labor in general and wage labor and gave an explanation of the form of alienation only in relation to wage labor. That is, not all types of man's labor can be described using alienation. Generation of the phenomenon of alienation of labor must have two prerequisites: One is that labor (or more correctly, labor power) has become the private property of the laborer, that is, commodity solely owned by himself; the other is that the laborer (including his labor power) is not subordinate to any other person, that is, on the surface his labor is "free" labor. In general, it may be said that for the sake of subsistence, the laborer cannot but offer his labor power as a commodity and, in a state of equality, sell it on the market to a buyer. Slave

labor under the slave system does not possess these two prerequisite conditions for the generation of this phenomenon of alienation, because the person who is the slave (including his labor power) is considered completely part of the private property of the slave owner. Similarly, the labor of a serf also does not possess the two prerequisite conditions for the generation of the phenomenon of alienation, because a serf is the private owner of only a portion of his labor power, while his person is entirely subordinate to the feudal lord. As Marx pointed out: In the Middle Ages, "the social relations in man's labor were manifested, from beginning to end, in the individual relations between men themselves, without the outer garment of social relations between things, that is, between the labor products." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 94) Hence, alienation cannot be applied to the labor of slaves and serfs.

As for the term mentioned in Marxism to describe alienation as the confrontation of a class against certain social phenomena, it is generally applied to commodity production which has wage labor as the prerequisite and the beginnings of this type of production were already evident in the precapitalist stage of society. However, strictly speaking, only the wage labor of the proletariat under the capitalist system possesses the two prerequisites for the generation of the phenomenon of alienation. That is, in a capitalist society the workers do not own a thing in the world. What they have is the commodity of labor power and their person is not subordinate to anybody. However, to stave off starvation, they are compelled to sell, in the labor market and in a state of equality, their labor power commodity to the capitalists, and in the course of the labor process, the worker produces not only the value of his labor power but also surplus value for the capitalists. The more the workers produce, the greater the surplus value, and the surplus value is converted into capital, becoming a sort of an alien force to dominate and rule the workers. Therefore, the alienation form is a special attribute of the wage labor of a capitalist society. Obviously, to use the alienation phenomenon which evolved in the subsequent historical stage to describe the entire course of historical development would be a sort of historical idealist method of putting the cart before the horse. In reality, in the voluminous mature writings of Marx and Engels on the origin of the private ownership system, the class, and the state, the concept of alienation was never again used as an explanation. This is because this term "alienation" can only be used to describe certain phenomena of the wage labor system in a capitalist society and cannot be treated as a method of law or theory. Hence, it cannot explain the origin of the private ownership system, the class, and the state.

Concerning the stage, certain comrades have marked an equal sign between the state and alienation, but this is a misinterpretation of the Marxist doctrine concerning the state. The viewpoint of the state being a product of alienation was first brought forth by the capitalist scholars Hobbes and Rousseau. They represented the political demands of the new capitalist class to seize political power from the feudal lord and, starting from the abstract idea of "power endowed from heaven," they believed that state power of an autocratic regime was the result of a portion of people transferring their heaven-endowed power to another portion of people. In Western language, the term



"transfer" carries more or less the same meaning as "alienating." In his early stage, Marx, following Feuerbach's viewpoint on religion being the alienation of man's nature, and likewise took the state as the result of the alienation of man's nature. Nevertheless, following the formation of Marxism, the viewpoint of using alienation to explain the origin of the state was discarded.

Marxism believes that the state is a tool used in class suppression or persecution, being the product of the development of class struggle. It is opposed to abstract talks on "states in general," but proposes to make concrete studies of the state in the context of historical development. In a society in which the exploiting class occupies the ruling status, evolution of the state does not come as a result of the working masses transferring their own power to the exploiters, but is set up by the latter for the purposes of protecting the interests of their own class and suppressing the working masses. The state of a slave society or of a feudal society is established by the slave-overlord and the feudal lord. To the slaves and serfs, the power of this kind of a state, though a sort of alien power to suppress them, basically is not alienation. This is because, be it the power of the state of the slave lord or of the state of the feudal lord, originally it never belonged to the worker. The state machinery of a capitalist society belongs to the capitalist class. Seen from history, the state machinery of the capitalist class is what the capitalist class, under the guise of representatives of the third class (including the proletariat), seized from the hands of the feudal lord. The purpose of setting up the sovereignty of this type of state is to protect the private property of the capital owners and to suppress opposition from the proletariat. Insofar as the proletariat is concerned, it is also a sort of alien force suppressing themselves, but is by no means any alienation. Hence, in prosecuting revolution, in reality the proletariat is not demolishing the "state's alienation," or making the state machinery of the capitalist class "return to them." Rather, they are to "crush it to pieces." If we were to call the state machinery of the capitalist class the product of alienation, then we would say that originally it had belonged to the proletariat, that the proletariat had transferred or alienated it to the capitalist class, and that the objective of the proletariat's revolution was only to seek the return by the capitalist class of the state machinery. But this obviously runs counter to the Marxist principle of crushing the state machinery of the capitalist class. The socialist state system was formed by the proletariat in the course of the class struggle with the capitalists, following the crushing of the state machinery of the capitalist class. In our country, the state system of socialism was set up by the proletariat (through the Communist Party) following their leading the masses to crush the state machinery of the capitalist class and the big landlords. Our state system is synonymous with the basic interests of the proletariat and other extensive worker masses. It is basically not the so-called product of alienation of the proletariat and of the vast working masses. Therefore, it is a sort of misinterpretation to disregard the integrated scientific system of Marxism and to abstractly talk about alienation and to label it in equal terms with the state.

Summing up, it may be said that Marx, in the development of his thinking in the transitional stage from the first turning point to the second turning point, and as a result of the influences of Feuerbach's thinking on humanism, developed the contradiction between the new and old starting points and the new and old historical outlook, and that the concept of the alienation of labor centrally reflected this contradiction. But the formation of this new world outlook of historical materialism precisely coincided with the stand Marx took in the early stage, along with the proletariat, in observing and criticizing the materialist outlook of actual society, being also the result of further development of new elements following his participation in the practices of the proletariat's revolutionary activities and the evolution of his thesis of the historical mission of the proletariat. It was also the result of his break with the use of alienation--the theoretical form with the features of German speculative philosophy--in the explanation of the old starting point and the old historical outlook of human society. Therefore, the viewpoint which believes that the "alienation of labor" is a "theory" of Marxism or that Marxism has a "theory of the alienation of labor," runs counter to the historical facts of the development of Marx' thinking, and in this way, has nothing whatsoever to do with Marxism.

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## HOW WE SHOULD APPROACH SOCIALIST ALL-PEOPLE OWNERSHIP IN OUR COUNTRY

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[Article by Jiang Xuemo]

[Text]

I

Any form of the system of ownership of the means of production is shown in the following factors: Who owns and disposes of the means of production? Whom does the ownership system serve? The socialist system of ownership of the means of production, as the term suggests, is a system of ownership of the means of production under which the means of production are owned by the whole people in a socialist country and disposed of by them as an integral whole, and which works for the well-being of the whole people.

The socialist system of ownership by the whole people is a form of ownership of the means of production that conforms with the highly socialized productive forces. The replacement of the capitalist private ownership system by the socialist system of ownership by the whole people is the requirement of the law that the relations of production must suit the nature of the productive forces. Engels said: "Since the historical emergence of the capitalist mode of production, the seizure of all means of production by society has often been dreamed of, by individuals as well as by whole sectors, more or less vaguely as an ideal of the future. But it could only become possible, it could only become a historical necessity, when the material conditions for its realization were present." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 321) The material conditions on which Engels touched here refer to the highly socialized productive forces. Marx and Engels predicted that a proletarian revolution would first win victory in the capitalist countries whose productive forces were highly developed. Therefore, in their works expounding on future societies, they regarded, as often as not, the seizure of all the means of production by society, namely, the overall system of ownership by the whole people, as the model form of the socialist public ownership system.

However, as the consequence of the law that during the imperialist stage, the economic and political development of various capitalist countries is uneven, socialist revolutions first won victory in the Asian and European countries that were quite backward economically, such as Russia and China, rather than in the developed capitalist countries whose productive forces were highly

socialized. Such being the case, does the theory of Marx and Engels on the seizure of all the means of production by society remain applicable? How should the universal truth of Marxism be integrated with the concrete conditions of a specific country? How should the question of the socialist system of ownership of the means of production in China be handled correctly?

In accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, our party adopted the following principles and policies for a period of time in the early days of the founding of the PRC: They first confiscated bureaucrat capital and put it in the hands of the entire people in the light of the realities in China and then transformed the capital of the national bourgeoisie into property owned by the whole people in the course of carrying out the general line for the transition period. Bureaucrat capital and national capital belonged to the capitalist economy characterized by socialized mass production. The economy under the socialist system of ownership by the whole people was thus established on the basis of confiscating bureaucrat capital and transforming national capital and, at the same time, in agriculture and handicraft industries in which socialization of production was fairly insignificant, the economy under the collective ownership system was established through creating cooperatives; moreover, some scope of the economy under the individual system of ownership by the working people was preserved. This handling of things presents an embodiment of the objective needs of the law that the relations of production must suit the nature of productive forces and also a better integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the realities of the Chinese revolution. All these correct principles and policies on the matters related to ownership relations vigorously promoted the rapid recovery and development of China's national economy in the early days of the founding of the PRC.

After 1958 there emerged "leftist" errors in the party's guiding ideology. On the question of ownership, the erroneous guideline was manifested mainly in the separation from the condition of China's productive forces and the pursuit of "bigness" and "collectivization of a higher level." The argument that the larger the scale and the higher the level of the socialist economy the better was quite prevalent at the time. During the 10 years of turmoil, the "gang of four" went in for "transition through poverty" on a large scale. All this has violated the law that the relations of production must suit the nature of productive forces. The errors committed on the question of the system of ownership of the means of production have resulted in such drawbacks as the premature abolition of the individual system of ownership by the working people, the drive to cut off the peasants' sideline production and trade at village fairs as "capitalist tails," the improperly forced transition of a number of enterprises under the collective ownership system into enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people, the unchecked spread of egalitarianism in the rural collective economy, the expanded negation of the partial interests of enterprises in the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people, and the practices of the state handling all revenue and expenditure in a unified way and of eating from the same big pot, thus seriously hindering the development of China's economic construction, particularly, the attainment of better economic results.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party began to correct the "leftist" errors in an overall manner, including the mistake in the question of ownership. The 12th CPC National Congress has formulated the principle of upholding the leading position of the state economy and developing diverse economic forms. While the state economy occupies a leading position, we must encourage the appropriate development of the cooperative economy collectively run by the working people and of the individual economy of the working people, which serves as a necessary and useful complement to the public economy in the light of the conditions of the productive forces of the various localities and departments all over the country. This is the product of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete conditions in China and a principle that should be upheld for a considerably long period of time in building socialism with Chinese characteristics and in promoting an overall upsurge in China's socialist economy.

However, over the last few years some comrades have thought that since China has a fairly low level of productive forces and is far from qualified to practice the system of ownership by the whole people, it is only appropriate for China to change the socialist system of ownership by the whole people into the collective ownership system or the system of ownership by enterprises in an overall manner. This is, as I see it, an erroneous, unfeasible proposition.

As already mentioned, the system of ownership by the whole people is the objective requirement of the socialization of production. What is the socialization of production? By the socialization of production we mean mass production that is organized according to the principle of social division of labor and through a myriad of social relations rather than self-supporting individual production, which is carried out by a household as a production unit. As for the internal departments of an enterprise, this production is carried out by a number of working people in the spirit of the proper division of labor and coordination. As for the social relations and social division of labor of an enterprise with other enterprises, all its means of production, such as machinery, equipment, raw materials, and power, are provided by other production departments and its products are aimed at meeting the extensive needs of society. The more detailed the division of labor in the internal departments of an enterprise and the more extensive its external relations are, the higher the level of the socialization of production will be. Before liberation, China was a semicolonial and semifeudal society. Taken as a whole, the level of the socialization of production in old China was not high because the individual production of the peasants and handicraftsmen held a dominant position in the vast rural areas and in small cities and towns. But judging from the existence of bureaucrat capitalist enterprises and national capitalist enterprises, socialized mass production did exist. Only practicing the socialist system of ownership by the whole people can suit the nature of this part of social productive forces.

It must be pointed out that the majority of China's existing enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people were set up after the

founding of the PRC. The funds of these newly built enterprises are raised through nationwide efforts and come from the labor contributed to society by the working people throughout the country. These newly built enterprises, the key enterprises among them in particular, are all characterized by highly socialized mass production: They are large in size and detailed in terms of internal division of labor; their equipment, raw materials, and power are supplied by many production departments throughout the country, and even other countries; and their products are on sale not only at home, but in many countries and regions of the world. In view of such highly socialized mass production, only when the system of ownership by the whole people is practiced and production is effectively arranged by society as a whole can production and exchange be carried out in a planned way, can socialized production serve the interests of the working people of society as a whole, and can the successful development of China's socialist modernization program and the gradual improvement in the people's material life be ensured.

If the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people in China is entirely changed into the economy under the collective ownership system or under the system of ownership by enterprises, the planned and proportional development of the national economy as a whole will lose its most fundamental economic conditions. Once the collective economy departs from the leading role of the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people and acts independently for its own partial interests, social production will unavoidably lead to anarchy, the development of state construction and the improvement of the people's livelihood will lose their guarantee, and it will be hard to fully display the superiority of China's economic system. Moreover, the departure of the collective economy from the leading role of the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people can even shake the firmest economic foundation of China's people's democratic dictatorship.

## II

To uphold the socialist system of ownership by the whole people in China, we must adhere to and continuously improve the state ownership by the whole people.

In the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" and "Anti-Duhring," Marx and Engels pointed out: The proletariat seizes state power and, to begin with, transforms the means of production into state property. In other words, the social ownership system will first assume the form of the socialist system of state ownership, according to the assumptions of Marx and Engels. In a socialist society, the socialist state led by the proletarian party is the sole representative of the entire people. A socialist state is qualified and necessary to seize and dispose of the means of production belonging to the people as a whole on behalf of all the people and to use them in the service of the interests of the people.

Although some comrades acknowledge that following the seizure of state power by the proletariat, the socialist system of ownership by the whole people

must first assume the form of state ownership, they think that the socialist system of ownership by the whole people must discard the form of the state ownership system and replace it with other forms of ownership as soon as possible. They argue that under the socialist system of ownership by the whole people, which serves as a social form in which working people and the means of production are closely integrated, working people ought to directly administer the means of production owned by the whole people; under the state ownership system, working people and the means of production can only be "indirectly integrated." Hence, it should be discarded as soon as possible.

This proposition can be investigated, in my opinion, in two ways:

First, from a theoretical point of view, how should we actually understand the direct or indirect integration of working people and the means of production? In the works of Marx and Engels the integration or separation of working people and the means of production is viewed and advanced from the angle of economic relations. Separation of working people from the means of production refers to the fact that working people are deprived of their means of production and the means of production are in the hands of such exploiters as slave-owners, feudal lords, and capitalists, and that as factors in production, man and material cannot be directly integrated. In places where the means of production are seized by the exploiters, there exists the separation of working people from the means of production, and in the places where this seizure of the means of production by the exploiters does not exist, working people and the means of production can be directly integrated. Of course, under different socioeconomic conditions, the nature and form of the direct integration of working people and the means of production vary accordingly. For example, in the primitive communal economy, the individual economy under the small ownership system, the socialist economy, and the communist economy, working people and the means of production are directly integrated rather than being separated by the exploiters who seize the means of production. However, under different ownership systems, the nature and form of this direct integration of working people and the means of production are not identical. It can thus be seen that the integration or separation of working people and the means of production can only be understood from the angle of economic relations rather than from that of the organizational form of production. The argument asserting that the fact that the cadres selected, provided, assigned, or approved by the state assume the leadership work in integrating working people with the means of production cannot be considered direct integration, is obviously wrong. In the socialist collective economy, the socialist economy owned by the whole people, and the future communist economy owned by the whole people, although working people and the means of production are directly integrated, the maturity of this direct integration varies in degree. This difference in the maturity of direct integration is ultimately determined by the collectivization of the means of production, which is in line with the socialization of production and is not judged by whether or not organizers exist for production between working people and the means of production. If things are judged by the latter criterion, in all forms of direct integration, the individual production based on the individual system of ownership by the working people will become the most perfect "direct integration."

Can this conclusion hold water? The assertion that under China's state ownership system, working people and the means of production are still "indirectly integrated" means, in reality, regarding a socialist state as an obstacle lying between working people and the means of production rather than the representative of the entire people. In my opinion, it is precisely here that the errors of the comrades who hold such a view lie.

Second, judging from reality, argument will get us nowhere. The working people under the system of ownership by the whole people, which we are discussing, now refer, as a matter of course, to the working people of society as a whole entity and not to any part of the working people. We should like to ask: How can the hundreds of millions of working people in China "directly administer" every enterprise under the system of ownership by the whole people? Apart from adopting the form of the state ownership system and letting a socialist state administer the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people, namely, the state economy, on behalf of the entire working people, it is hard to find any other forms available in this respect. If the working people who directly administer enterprises refer to, instead of the working people of society as a whole entity, the entire staff and workers of an enterprise under the system of ownership by the whole people, who, compared with the hundreds and millions of working people in the country invariably comprise a tiny part, no matter how large the scale of the enterprise and how big the number of its staff, then can the direct administration by a part of the working people of the means of production owned by the whole people embody the system of ownership by the whole people?

Therefore, judging from either theory or reality, in a socialist society the means of production belonging to the whole people must be put under the expropriation and disposal of the state as a whole on behalf of the entire people, and the numerous enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people must be administered jointly by the cadres assigned by the socialist state or elected by the staff and workers and approved by the state and the masses of staff and workers. In other words, China's system of ownership by the whole people must adopt the form of the state ownership system, and the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people must assume the form of the state economy.

### III

Another reason some comrades are opposed to the socialist system of ownership by the whole people adopting the form of the state ownership system is that they think the state ownership system is the source of the numerous malpractices in the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people in China and is apt to give rise to bureaucraticism and commandism and that, under the system, people are prone to issue blind and harmful orders, prone to handle things according to the "will of superiors," and prone to manage the national economy exclusively by means of noneconomic measures (official documents, orders, directives, rules and regulations, and so on).



It is true that in the practice of China's socialist construction, there did exist or possibly still exists the various phenomena mentioned above. The problem is where the roots of the phenomena lie and how they can be overcome. This is a problem that should be further studied.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a penetrating analysis of the bureaucraticism existing in China's socialist society. He said: "Bureaucraticism is an age-old, complicated, historical phenomenon. Apart from sharing the common characteristics of the other types of bureaucraticism known in the past, bureaucraticism as it now exists in our country has characteristics of its own. It differs from both the bureaucraticism of old China and that prevailing in the capitalist countries. It is closely related to our highly centralized management systems in the economic, political, cultural, and social fields, which we have long regarded as essential for the socialist system and the system of planned management. Our leading organs at various levels have taken charge of many matters that they should not and cannot handle, or which they cannot manage effectively. Given certain necessary stipulations, these matters could have been easily handled if they had been dealt with according to the principle of democratic centralism by the enterprises, institutions, and communities at the grassroots level. But difficulties have arisen because all these matters have been referred to the leading organs and central department of the party and government. No one is omnipotent and can tackle all these onerous and unfamiliar jobs. This can be said to be one of the general causes of the bureaucraticism peculiar to us today." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 287-288) It is quite evident that bureaucraticism as it now exists in our country is related to the imperfect concrete management systems in the political, economic, cultural, and social fields rather than being the product of the fundamental socialist system, and it can thus be overcome by means of improving the concrete management systems.

In terms of ideological roots, the bureaucraticism existing in China's socialist state economy is a reflection of the ideas of the exploiting classes and the work style of feudal government officials; in terms of economic systems, it is closely related to the irrational management systems. In addition, it is also closely related to China's not quite perfect socialist democracy and legality. It has, however, no necessary relation with the state ownership form of the socialist system of ownership by the whole people. The practical experience over the 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC has indicated that to eliminate the bureaucraticism existing in the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people in China, we must start doing things in many ways. For instance, we must revive our party's fine traditions so that the broad numbers of party members, party cadres in particular, can restore and advance the good thinking and work style of maintaining close ties with the masses and serving the people wholeheartedly; we must improve socialist democratic centralism, strengthen the supervision of cadres by the masses by means of developing socialist democracy, including the improvement of the democratic management of the internal departments of enterprises, and place high centralism on a highly democratic basis; we must reform economic systems, practice the economic responsibility system that combines responsibility, authority,

and benefit, and combine economic responsibility, economic authority, and economic benefits together.

We must make a distinction between the functions of the government and those of enterprises, break down the administrative management system characterized by the separation of different departments and regions, give full play to the role of large and medium-sized cities in organizing economic matters, and gradually establish economic zones of various sizes and types by relying on large and medium-sized cities. All this is precisely the principles pursued since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The gradual implementation of these principles can surely steadily overcome the bureaucraticism as it exists in the economy under the system of ownership by the whole people in China.

Since the socialist system of ownership by the whole people adopts the form of the state ownership system, the exercising of leadership by the state over specific enterprises by means of administrative measures cannot be ruled out entirely. That the state exercises leadership and control over state-run enterprises by means of such administrative measures as mandatory planning, decisions, directives, and rules and regulations is the important manifestation of China's socialist system of ownership by the whole people in terms of production organization. Totally excluding leadership by means of administrative measures designated to ensure that the production and operations of state-run enterprises should serve the needs of the whole people and to discarding the unified, planned, state leadership over the national economy.

Judging from the experiences of our country and other socialist countries, on the question of administrative measures, two tendencies must be avoided. One is the trend to idealize socialist state leadership over state-run enterprises by means of administrative measures, asserting that all problems arising in the economic activities of state-run enterprises can be solved by means of administrative measures. This will surely lead to overlapping and overstaffed administrations, with multitiered departments and low efficiency, and consequently, subjective errors will be hard to avoid. The longstanding main drawback in the management of the state economy in our country is closely related to the tendency of attaching exclusive importance to administrative measures to the neglect of economic measures. The other is the trend to go to another extreme, asserting that in leading and managing the state economy, we cannot but apply economic measures and that such economic levers as pricing, credits, interest, land rents, and taxes cannot but exclude the use of administrative measures.

Mainly assuming the form of commodity production, socialist production is subject to the law of value and must not ignore the role of pricing and of the market. However, being commodity production based on the socialist public ownership system, socialist production is above all governed by the basic socialist economic laws and the law governing the planned and proportional development of the national economy. In socialist economic activities, more often than not such a circumstance is likely to emerge: In order to ensure general interests, it is necessary to sacrifice partial and

local interests for the time being, and to enhance general interests, some departments and localities are required to carry out production and exchange activities by sacrificing their partial interests. All this can be achieved by means of administrative measures rather than economic measures. If administrative measures are discarded totally, the state will find it hard to effectively control and readjust macroeconomic activities.

Therefore, neither administrative measures nor economic ones should be overemphasized at the expense of the other, and they should be integrated as an organic whole. The principles adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are aimed at correcting the longstanding tendency of not attaching importance to economic measures so as to give better play to the initiative and enthusiasm of the grassroots enterprises and to enliven the economy on the one hand, and ensuring the smooth development of the national economy by adopting necessary administrative measures on the other hand. For example, the state offers planned guidance to the national economy and, in accordance with the principle of the leading role of the planned economy and the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism, it has adopted mandatory planning, guidance planning, and regulation by market mechanism in the mode of planned management. All this serves as good illustrations. If such planning is exclusively applied and if enterprises are put under excessively tight control of mandatory planning, the economy will become rigid, and this is of course detrimental to the development of socialist construction. On the other hand, if all mandatory planning is abolished, as advocated by some people who think the application of mandatory planning is bound to give rise to bureaucraticism and the issuance of blind and harmful orders, it will be difficult to display the superiority of the socialist economic system.

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RELY ON TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS TO BRING ABOUT GREATER BENEFITS--AN  
INVESTIGATION OF THE PANZHIHUA IRON AND STEEL CORPORATION

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[Article by Lin Nan [2651 0589]]

[Text] The Panzhihua Iron and Steel Corporation is the largest iron and steel industrial base in southwest China. Since 1978, it has transformed its former serious losses, developed production, and achieved technological progress and economic results have constantly risen. Actual profits from 1978 to 1982 totaled 486.16 million yuan and on the basis of identical specifications, profits have increased annually by 25.42 percent. In 1982, output of its various products and major technological and economic targets all exceeded planned levels. In 1983, following a major repair on the No 3 blast furnace, and a drop in the output of pig iron and converter steel in comparison to the previous year, actual profits were still 192 million yuan while profits increased 25.8 percent over 1982 and production costs were down 3 percent. The years 1979 to 1983 saw 5 successive years of profit increase rates exceeding output value rates of increase.

What are the main experiences of the Panzhihua Corporation in constantly increasing economic results?

One of their most important experiences is their emphasis on scientific experiments and scientific and technological development. Let us take 1982 as an example. Scientific research costs throughout the whole company during that year made up around 10 percent of the enterprises' profits for retention and during that year, a total of 185 scientific topics were studied on the basis of production requirements. Of these, 62 have already been used or have been partially put to use in production and of these 8 have achieved great economic results. Throughout the year, profits which relied on the application in production of technological progress and technological results reached more than 30 million yuan, making up around 30 percent of total profits. Thus it can be said that Panzhihua has relied on technology to build itself up as well as technological development.

1. A Technological Line Suited to the Characteristics of Its Own Resources

Panzhihua's mineral resources are vanadium and titanium magnetite. Normal blast furnace smelting of this kind of iron ore requires a series of

specialized technological processes and operations. Not only is it necessary to increase the utilization factor of the blast furnace, decrease the coke ratio, and improve the quality of the molten iron, it is also necessary to improve the vanadium content of the molten iron and the rate of retrievability of the vanadium. This is different from smelting ordinary iron ore. Only by correctly solving this problem can overall economic results be achieved. The Panzhihua steelworks--their full name is "Vanadium Improvement Steelworks" differ from other steelworks and have a vanadium improvement workshop. Before the molten iron in the steelworks undergoes converter processing, it must first undergo vanadium improvement. The product contains about 20 percent vanadium residue in the form of vanadium pentoxide. Today this vanadium residue can still only be a semi-finished product and is sold as such to factories in Shanghai and Dongbei where it is refined into vanadium pentoxide or vanadium-iron alloy. Vanadium is an important metal. One ton of grade one vanadium residue is worth 1,100 yuan. In the past China imported vanadium and in order to obtain 1 ton of pure vanadium pentoxide, 20 tons of peanut oil was exchanged.

On the basis of the characteristics of their natural resources, Panzhihua took as the center of their technological line the comprehensive utilization of, and balanced attention to both steel and vanadium. An entire process was necessary to implement this technological line. In 1981, there was a tendency in iron smelting to strive solely for blast furnace output and this resulted in a drop in the vanadium content of molten iron and an increase in the sulphur content. Not only did this create major difficulties for steel-smelting but the iron-smelting furnaces themselves also stopped running smoothly and the utilization factor dropped against that in 1980 to 0.029, while production costs increased by 8 million yuan, thereby affecting the economic results of the entire corporation. The corporation recognized that in order to solve this problem they would have to find the best technological processes and the most outstanding operational system available and thus the cadres understood that this was an important link in the technological advances of Panzhihua. In 1982, they studiously implemented a system of perfect operation for the blast furnaces and achieved visible economic results, with iron output increasing 6.5 percent over the preceding year and the vanadium content of the molten iron increasing, and vanadium residue output increasing by 34 percent. As a result of increases in the sales volume of vanadium residue and increases in the rate of grade one products, sales revenue increased 19 million yuan. Iron smelting and steel smelting consumption dropped and results increased by more than 10 million yuan.

## 2. The Starting Point and End Result of Propagating Technological Advances Should Be To Take Improvements in Economic Results as Central

Panzhihua is located a long way from any major town or city and any iron and steel consumption markets and as far as improving economic results is concerned, the problems and difficulties facing this enterprise are much greater than those facing similar large-scale iron and steel enterprises. The cost of transporting purchased goods and materials alone means an expenditure of around 5 million yuan more a year than for enterprises of a

similar scale located in urban areas. As far as the consumer is concerned, transportation costs are also very high; for example, buyers of Panzhihua's iron and steel who are based in Beijing or Shanghai have to spend between 30 to 40 yuan more for every ton of products. If it were possible for them to buy similar products nearer home, they would--who wants to have to spend this much extra? The comrades at Panzhihua are deeply aware of the fact that only by really improving quality, increasing product variety, decreasing consumption and producing products urgently required by buyers can they increase the competitiveness of the enterprise and its developmental capacity.

In order to increase product quality and reduce material consumption, it is necessary first of all to get to grips with improving the rate of acceptability of the products and reducing damage through substandard goods. In 1976, the rate of acceptability of the molten iron in this iron smelting plant was only 59.87 percent and this led to 32.54 million yuan in losses throughout the whole year, of which damage and loss from unacceptable iron made up 17.7 million yuan, or 54.39 percent. In selling 1 ton of substandard iron the price drops by 60 yuan but consumption is not reduced in the least. As a result of technological offensives the rate of acceptability of molten iron increased to 99.14 percent and during that year this brought gains of 6.75 million yuan. In 1982, although one blast furnace was under repair and output dropped, the fact that the grade one rate of the molten iron had increased by 12 percent (an extra 12 yuan for each ton) meant that profits continued to increase, reaching 22.5 million yuan. The rate of acceptability for steel ingots in the steel smelting plant fluctuated around 95 percent for the first 10 years. From 1980 onwards, it remained constantly at above 99 percent. For every 1 percent increase in the rate of acceptability of steel ingots, annual income increased by 5 million yuan. In 1982, the grade one rate of vanadium residue also increased 24.7 percent over the preceding year and increases in this item alone increased revenue by more than 2 million yuan.

At the same time as improving the quality of existing products, Panzhihua also got to work to research and manufacture outstanding products of a competitive nature, so as to ensure success in competition. For example, the steel oxygen cylinders which they manufactured proved to be of a higher quality than similar types of domestic products and were warmly welcomed by consumers. In Shanghai, one client preferred to go all the way to Panzhihua to make purchases since the oxygen cylinders they produced could be exported and saved on materials. While the client had to pay more money for transportation costs, in the long run it was worth it. Today, they have test manufactured steel for oxygen cylinders which contains a percentage of vanadium and this increases the price by 120 yuan per ton. The use of this kind of steel base for the production of the oxygen cylinders means that the cylinder walls are much thinner and hence also much lighter and this means savings on raw materials. They believe that the production of outstanding items requires even higher technological standards and means that one cannot be satisfied with partial standards when considering the performance of products in order to ensure that performance is more reliable and stable and that the consumer feels that the product is really original and unique.

To date, Panzhihua has drawn up quality standards and specialized regulations for 21 major projects.

### 3. Exploit the Advantages of Resources and Technology, Expand Product Variety, Readjust Product Structure

The products which Panzhihua originally produced were very few in variety, and, with the exception of the large-scale steel materials produced by the girder plant, most products are steel bases to provide rolling material for the domestic steel rolling mills. The unitary nature of the products is one of the major reasons for low economic results. The price of 1 ton of 90 by 90mm square steel base does not exceed 360 yuan whereas processing various small-scale pieces can increase the price by between 100-200 yuan and in some cases it can more than double the price. Thus expanding product variety can increase economic results for an enterprise, and also strengthen the enterprise's competitive ability to adapt to market changes. Starting out from reality, the comrades at Panzhihua actively developed new products based on existing production conditions. They made one demand of themselves. We must make use of consumers' needs and demands, we must do what others do not do and what others cannot do; we must create necessary conditions to be able to do so. The steel smelting plant test manufactured several types of steel which it had previously been thought impossible for a convertor furnace to smelt and today they have already grasped the smelting technology for 118 types of steel, and annual steel production includes more than 20 different varieties. Ratios of killed steel have also constantly increased and in 1983 it reached 55.17 percent. Experimental rolling in the girder plant succeeded in producing several complex sectional large-scale steel materials which involves rather complex and difficult production technology, of which 310 B steel and No 19 cao bang [2864 1620] steel used railway engine girders, filled up a gap in the domestic metallurgy industry, as well as roll manufacture of No 11 mining steel, badly needed as a coal-mining support material. The prices of these steel materials can be twice as high as those made of steel base and hence enterprise income consequently increased. They also did work on product varieties made from steel base. For example in 1982, they successfully test manufactured the D60 military steel of an outstanding quality, receiving praise from the State Economic Committee and in 1983 batch production was started and it is estimated that it will increase income by around 10 million yuan annually. In developing new products, Panzhihua concentrated on the characteristics of natural resources in its own area and made full use of advantages of certain resources, taking as its major offensive target the test manufacture and development of low-alloy steel mostly incorporating vanadium and titanium.

### 4. Strengthen Management Work To Ensure Technological Progress

Modern scientific management is a requirement of modern scientific and technological development. At the same time as promoting technological progress, it is vital to pay attention to management work, otherwise technological progress will come up against obstacles.

Before 1978, management work at Panzhihua was rather chaotic and it lacked a necessary system and set of rules and regulations, or in some cases rules were simply not heeded, and thus it was very difficult to carry out rational production processes and operation systems and production was very irregular with frequent mishaps. In 1975, the steel smelting plant suffered damage costs through mishaps of up to 46.68 yuan for every 1,000 yuan of production value. Two-thirds of all equipment breakdowns were the result of imperfect management. Many technologists say "three-tenths is technology and seven-tenths management" and this is very true.

When Panzhihua strengthened management work they got to grips with two main points. One was to set up and perfect various regulations and systems throughout the corporation by means of enterprise reorganization. In addition, they strengthened foundation work, in particular staff quotas, original records, technological records, unified planning work and various methods of measuring and assessment. They outlined a complete target system which reflected their technological strong points and which aimed at increasing product quality and reducing material consumption, and they taught the workers to consciously work according to the regulations and systems outlined, paying attention to information feedback, and scientifically organizing production. Second, they studiously studied the experiences of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Corporation in implementing the economic system of responsibility and made use of the "contract, maintenance, link-up" method to implement the regulations and systems target system in the factories, workshops, work groups, and among the individual workers, and at the same time linked them up with the bonus and penalty system.

Strengthening management work resulted in improved product quality and a drop in material consumption. Throughout the corporation, 91 quality management measures were implemented and this meant a possible annual saving of more than 16 million yuan. The girder plant carried out ultrasonic flaw detector tests on the girders it manufactured and not only did this ensure the quality of products leaving the plant, which won great customer praise, it also played a role in improving management and educating workers, by improving standards of analysis for product quality.

Improvements in management guaranteed technological progress. At the same time technological progress constantly put new demands on management and widened the content of management. For example in 1982, Panzhihua received some export orders for steel rails and the overseas customer required that the products be manufactured in accordance with very strict European and international (UIC) standards. This was the first time that steel girders had been trial manufactured for export using UIC standards and not only was it necessary to solve various technological problems, it was also necessary to suitably improve management work. The success of the trial manufacture of the export rail and batch production resulted in enormous leaps forward for Panzhihua in terms of production technology and management work.

Since 1979, Panzhihua has been carrying out bold reforms to the internal management system in accordance with the principles of specialized coordination. In the past, social services and social work in the more than 20



factories and mines belonging to the corporation were managed by each factory or mine, or even by individual workshops separately. This type of "small but complete" decentralized management system meant that factory leaders were unable to fully concern themselves with and get to grips with production. The leaders of the corporation decided to get rid of the heavy burden of "the factory running the social life" and after investigative research, trial schemes were implemented and centralized and unified management was implemented for all such areas as workers' dining halls, dormitories, showers and toilets, car transportation, collective factories, brigades, kindergartens, secondary and primary schools, hygiene centers, outpatient clinics, as well as agricultural side-product bases, and for each of these, specialized companies or specialized bodies were set up. The results were very positive. Today grassroots factory leaders can concentrate their efforts on getting to grips with production and share the management of the various specialized bodies dealing with transportation and living, with duties clearly defined and each section and body having its own duties and functions, and as a result work results constantly increase. At present, they are further assessing their experiences and are now planning to implement specialized management for the supply of goods and materials and for machine maintenance and repair work.

At Panzhihua the idea of making improvements to economic results central to all work has now entered everyone's heart and the work style of strengthening financial management, studying and understanding accounts and bills, and first working things out on paper and only then doing things, is increasing daily. The leaders of the corporation and its factories and mines always seek out comrades in the financial departments to do their sums first before implementing any technological measure, then they draw their technological and economic conclusions, and only then do they make a decision. One of the major reasons for the economic results achieved by the Panzhihua Iron and Steel Corporation is their demand for results in all technological advances and their close integration of technological work and economic work.

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## A STUDY OF THE QUESTION OF THE NATURE OF EDUCATION

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[Article by Sun Xiting [1327 0823 0080]]

[Text] The question of the nature of education is a fundamental question in the theory of education. A probing into the nature of education is in actual fact a study of the most general rules and laws of education and this is not only significant for the construction of the science of education, it is also very important for practical work in education.

Over recent years there have been many hundreds of articles in newspapers which have discussed the question of the nature of education, and experts, scholars, and education workers throughout the country have all expressed their penetrating opinions. When summed up, they mainly include the following major points: Some comrades believe that education is basically part of the superstructure, others believe that education is basically a productive force. Between these two viewpoints is the belief that as society develops, the nature of education changes from being part of the superstructure to being a productive force, and then once again part of the superstructure. Other comrades believe that education is a process which spurs on individual socialization. In other words education is one of the basic practical activities in life, and so on. All these viewpoints illustrate from different angles the objective rules of education and have made positive and useful contributions toward a thorough probe of the nature of education. Now I would like to discuss several views concerning the question of the nature of education.

### I. What Is the Nature of Education?

In studying the nature of education we must primarily determine what this concept "nature" actually means in scientific terms. We speak of nature in terms of phenomena and the problem answered by nature is the special attributes which differentiate one thing from another and the special contradictions contained within one thing. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Any form of movement contains within it its own special contradictions. This kind of special contradiction makes up the special nature of that thing which differentiates it from other things." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, pp 283-284)

So, how should we describe the nature of education? In simple terms, education is the act of training people on the basis of specific social demands, in other words, it is the process of training people.

Throughout the history of Chinese and overseas education, many people have described the nature of education. While their various descriptions and definitions reflect the demands of differing times and different classes, they all merge on one point, and that is the view that education is the act or activity of training or nurturing people, that it is the act of setting an example for people, guiding them, and inspiring them, and that education is the process of "passing on beliefs, teaching subjects, and providing enlightenment," and thus its aim is to ensure that the person being educated is able to develop his or her mind and that his or her knowledge and morals may meet the requirements of society. In a broad sense, education may be said to be the sum total of all influences which a person undergoes from birth to death, namely the sum total of all planned and chance, organized and unorganized, conscious and spontaneous, and naturally originating and socially originating influences. However, the education of which we talk in pedagogics has certain conditions attached to it and by this we mainly mean education as an independent social phenomenon separated out from work and from social life. Its conditions are: 1) That there are specific people receiving such education and these are mainly the new generation, that is, children and young people; 2) that there are specific educators and these are mainly specialized teachers; 3) that it is a directed, planned, and organized activity, the mainstay of which is school education. As long as these conditions apply, then no matter whether we are talking about activities which involve the nurturing of young children, the education of young people, or the education of adults, and no matter whether we are talking of imparting knowledge and producing talent or indoctrinating with specific thought systems, they should all be classified as education.

Education is the act of training or nurturing people and it is this which represents the stipulations for the nature of education and it is this which is the fundamental summarization of the intensional contradictions in the act of education. In different stages of historical development, education has had different characteristics and has nurtured people with different characters and morals, and there have been fundamental differences in its aims, content, methods, and form, but, in every case, it has been the act of training or nurturing people in line with specific social requirements. It is this which has been determined by the special contradictions which differentiates this thing education from other things.

Any educational act has four fundamental important factors and these are the educator, the person being educated, the content of education, and the means of education. Between these four fundamental key factors there exist extremely complex relations and it is these relations which make up the internal contradictions in the act of education. The most important of these various relationships are those between the educator and the person being educated, in other words the relationship of teaching to learning.

In general, the person being educated is the central figure within the act of education, while the educator occupies the guiding position in the educational process. The process of education is in actual fact the process by which the person being educated understands objects, and the process, as a result of successive acts of recognition and understanding, of creating his or her own knowledge, talent, ideas, character, and morals. This process must solve the contradiction within the person receiving education of having a thirst for knowledge and yet having no knowledge and the contradiction between having little knowledge and wanting a lot of knowledge and hence it transfers specific extensional educational content toward the person receiving education. The guiding role of the educator in the process of education manifests itself in the content of what the person being educated learns, since this and the learning methods adopted are determined by the educator, and the emergence of a desire to learn on the part of the person being educated, as well as the creation of study habits, are to a very great extent determined by the guidance and inspiration of the educator. As far as the student is concerned, the teacher is already in possession of knowledge and is the imparter of knowledge and the one who leads the way. It is because of this guiding role possessed by the teacher that the act of education differentiates itself from the influence of the environment. We say that education is the process of nurturing or training people and this also means that it is the process of contradictory movement between teaching and learning.

The relationship between teaching and learning is in actual fact also the relationship between education and development. The social role of education is to achieve the development of people through nurturing or training them and thereby to ensure the development of society. The nature of man, in realistic terms, is the sum total of all social relations. Education is a social phenomenon, a tool to develop the minds of the new generation, and its aims are to promote the socialization of new individuals. Development naturally includes the emergence and growth of the individual qualities of a person but it is mainly the process of socialization of the individual and it ensures that a new member of society can meet the demands of society.

In order to explain the relationship between education and development, we must examine the conditions for the continuation and development of human society, and the process of development of the individual.

Material production is the foundation of the existence and development of society. In the process of carrying out material production and in addition to having to form specific production relations, there is also a need for reproduction of a specific amount of labor. In order to produce acceptable labor, not only must the necessary material and living conditions be provided for the labor reserve, so as to promote their physical development, but, in addition, production experiences and social experiences must be passed on to them, so as to promote their intellectual development. The new generation must be able to use and apply specific production tools and to perform production and live within specific production relations and social relations, so as to become acceptable adult members of society, and this thus requires education. Education is a tool for creating acceptable

adult members of society and the means by which a continuation and link between the older generation and the new generation is made and it is also the means by which social life continues and develops. The development of education and of human society are intimately linked.

From the point of view of the developmental progress of the individual, Engels explained in his work "Natural Dialectics" that the development of the individual was a miniature version of both the history of biological evolution and the history of the development of human knowledge. In the case of the former, this means biological evolution from the earliest forms of life to mankind, over a period of several hundreds of millions of years while the fetus only remains in the mother's uterus for a matter of months. The developmental course from the fertilization of a single cell to the birth of a baby reenacts the historical course of biological evolution in an encapsulated form. The latter miniature version implies that only after hundreds of thousands of years have human beings developed from an uncivilized and barbaric era to a civilized stage, while for an individual human being, the intellectual developmental course from a barbaric or uncivilized state, as a newborn child, to that of an acceptable adult conforming to the demands of society is only a matter of 20-odd years. The course of human intellectual development is also a reenactment of the historical development of human knowledge in encapsulated form. The former of these two miniature versions can be explained and illustrated on the basis of the principles of biological evolution and genetics, while the latter can be explained through the functions of education and the material and spiritual wealth which mankind has created and preserved through its development. Through its long period of social practice, mankind has created two kinds of social wealth, namely the materialization in concrete and material form of man's spirit, and mankind's spiritual culture preserved in the form of language, ideas, and emotions. These two kinds of social wealth are passed from generation to generation and, at the same time, they develop, and they do not rely on human biological inheritance for their presence, rather they rely on the older generation passing them on to the younger generation for their presence and continued existence. The means of achieving this imparting of wealth is education.

The development of education itself is also a historical process. The very earliest stage of education was fused together with social production and social life and at that stage the education of the new generation or the young generation was carried out in the actual comings and goings of social production and social life. With the development of the forces of production, the fruits of human knowledge only depended on direct activities in production and life. When it was no longer possible to gain knowledge through listening and looking, education separated out from labor and from general social life. This process of separation was closely connected with the division between mental labor and physical labor. It was a form of social development and it played an important role in the development of social production and culture. When social development reached the stage of socialized large-scale production, science and technology developed very fast and the breadth and depth of knowledge quickly expanded and grew and this demanded the implementation of systematic and specialized education in

scientific and technological knowledge and thus it was that modern-day school education was born. The development of modern education meant that education's functions as disseminator of knowledge and promoter of knowledge and character in individuals was strengthened and became more obvious. When we advocate the integration of education with production labor our aim is to ensure that the person receiving education has lofty morals which manifest a love for labor and a love for the working people and that the individual possesses a considerable amount of knowledge and skill suited to modern production. Our advocacy is not made with the intention of weakening or eradicating the independent function of education. Quite the contrary, the more social productive forces develop, the greater the need to strengthen the independent social function of education and to carry out scientific and systematic education for those being educated. In the past there was a one-sided emphasis on the need for education to participate in social struggle and production labor, even to the extent of proposing such things as "working secondary schools" and "the school is the factory," "the best classroom is the workshop," and so on. In actual fact suggestions such as these ignored systematic teaching of knowledge and weakened the essential function of education and as a result also erased the fundamental attributes of education. This was in direct opposition to the viewpoint of pedagogics.

## II. How Should One View the Relationship Between Education and Social Production?

The essential nature of education of which we have just talked was a scientifically abstracted investigation of education which bypassed concrete historical conditions and social conditions. However, all education exists under specific historical and social conditions and education is always concrete education. Education means nurturing or training people, passing on knowledge, giving specialized knowledge, and interpreting and explaining things. But what is the aim of nurturing people and what knowledge does one pass on, what things does one explain? These things differ in different periods of history. The reason for these differences and the factors which have caused the developmental changes in education represent another important area which pedagogics should examine and study.

When researching the basis for the origins, development, and changes in education, we should not look at education itself, rather we should look at the style of social production, we should look at the reproduction of material means and at the reproduction of labor, all of which determine social development. The reproduction of labor represents a necessary condition for the reproduction of social material means and education is one of the basic means by which labor is reproduced. The relationship between education and social production centers around the reproduction of labor or the labor force within social reproduction. This is particularly true of recent and modern education, and especially so of education under socialism.

The reproduction of social material means conditions the reproduction of labor and the development of education. The style and scale of the reproduction of social material means determines the quantity and quality of reproduction of labor, and thus also determines the quantity and quality of education.

As far as quantity is concerned, questions such as how much labor should be trained, how much should be trained to carry out simple labor and how much to carry out complex labor, how much should be trained to carry out physical labor and how much to carry out mental labor, how much should be educated to a high level and how much to a middle level, cannot be decided by people's subjective desires, they are decided and answered according to the state of social reproduction. The decision to be made consists of, first, what kind of material basis the production of material means can offer for the development of education, and second, what kinds of demands are made on labor by social reproduction. These demands not only determine the overall quantity of labor, they also determine the proportional relations between the various kinds of labor. The overall amount of labor determines the scale and speed of development of education and the ratio relations between the various kinds of labor determine the system and structure of education. In basic terms, reforms and readjustments to the education system are designed to ensure that education meets the ratio requirements of social reproduction. This kind of restriction is objective and education planning and education design must correspond with these requirements, otherwise not only will it be impossible to allow education to develop normally, but quite the opposite might occur. After the founding of new China, great ups and downs occurred in the development of higher education and the education structure became monolithic, this was because objective laws had been ignored.

As far as quality is concerned, the level and style of social reproduction determines the character of labor, and at the same time also determines the characters and specifications of the people being nurtured and trained by education. The new generation has to participate in social production and must become an acceptable part of the labor force within social production and, in order to do so, they must study and grasp contemporary basic theories of production and operational capabilities in accordance with the level and style of social reproduction. The reason Marx' theory concerning the overall development of people is scientific is that it is determined by the basic nature of socialized large-scale reproduction and because it meets the objective demands of the new social productive forces and production relations. The educational reforms we are carrying out at present are not only reforms to the structure of education. What we mainly need to do is probe the mental and physical demands that modern social reproduction is making on labor, and probe how to develop people's intellectual traits even better. Hence we must avoid tendencies toward over-restrictive specialization and premature specialization. We must ensure that workers learn the basic skills of operating machinery by understanding the fundamental principles of the production process.

Man represents the most valuable factor within all production activities. The quality of man, especially the intellectual quality of man, is to a very great extent determined by education. Marx said: "We understand the labor force, or labor capacity, to be man's body, namely the sum total of all the physical and intellectual strength which exists in a living person and which is expended during the production of any use value." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 190) Where does this physical and intellectual strength come from? With normal growth and development of a living body, the

physical strength of labor is gained during this growth process. However, the intellectual quality of labor and the ability to use physical labor possessed by the labor force can only be gained through education and training. The practice of certain specialized types of labor require even more education. Thus Marx said: "We must change the basic nature of a normal person to ensure that that person obtains abilities and skills in certain areas of labor and thereby becomes an advanced and specialized part of the labor force, and to do this we need specific education or training." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 195) What is meant here by "the basic nature of a normal person" is universal labor, which lacks any specialized knowledge or skills, whereas to become a developed part of labor implies labor equipped with specialized and advanced knowledge and skills. Education and training thus represent the process of processing (or training) "ordinary" parts of labor into specialized labor.

The relationship between education and modern production is particularly close. Modern production represents the broad application in production of modern science and technology. In modern production a great deal of labor is being gradually replaced by modern machinery and equipment and people are gradually being liberated from simple heavy physical labor to become the initiators, overseers, and managers of the process of production automation. With changes in the structure of production, the organization of labor changes in appearance, links between enterprises become closer, and management becomes a branch of science, and thus both production and management become more scientific and socialized. This not only requires sufficient quantities of workers with a grasp of modern science and technology. Even more importantly, it requires a large collection of scientific and technological talent and management talent. A speedy increase in the proportion of scientific and technological personnel within overall numbers of personnel in all economic sectors is a necessary and vital trend for the development of modern production. All of this requires that education meet all these various needs. Today's scientific achievements determine tomorrow's levels of production and today's education determines tomorrow's scientific development and levels of production for the day after tomorrow. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the entire party gradually came to understand that the key to socialist modernization lies in scientific and technological modernization and that the basis for training and nurturing scientific and technological talent and improving the cultural quality of the entire labor force is education. Hence the party central authorities clearly pointed out that education is one of the important strategies for achieving the four modernizations, and hence they elevated education to a suitable and fitting position.

In view of the important position that education occupies in social production and the close relationship that exists between education and social production, can education, then, be regarded as a productive force? This requires concrete analysis.

First of all, when we examine the matter from the point of view of the relationship between production and consumption, we see very clearly that education is consumption, but it is also potential production. In order to



ensure that labor gains specific abilities and skills in specific areas of labor, specific education is required, and thus there are also specific educational costs. This is consumption, just as certain amounts of food must be consumed in order to replenish the physical strength of the worker. The educational costs consumed produce in return the intellectual and physical development of the worker. Thus education is a kind of important potential production factor. When the fruits of this consumption are transformed in the production process and become production ability, its economic significance is clearly illustrated.

Second, in terms of economic results, education is limited consumption but also "expanded" production. Educational costs are specific and their amount is generally in direct proportion to the level of development of the productive forces. However, when the economic results created during production by the person who has received education are compared with these specific educational costs, they show an "expanded" amount. This "expanded" amount represents the transformation in production of the intellectual qualities of the labor force and it is the result of the application of science and technology by specialized members of the labor force.

Third, in terms of the relationship between accumulation and consumption, education is today's consumption but it is also tomorrow's production. In the distribution of the national revenue, one portion is directly invested in expanded reproduction and another portion is used to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs, and this includes a specific amount of educational costs. Costs or expenses used for expanded reproduction produce results very quickly and thus they have a very short period of recoverability. The period of recoverability for educational costs is rather long. It is here that the contradiction between costs for expanded reproduction and costs for education emerges. We should not place the costs for present education in opposition to the costs for expanded reproduction, rather we should consider today's education as being a preparation for tomorrow's reproduction.

Finally, in terms of the relationship between the educational process and the production process, education must consume specific costs and expenses in order to achieve its aim of improving the intellectual ability of the person being educated. This, then, is the process in which the "material" is transformed into the "intellectual," but at the same time it is also the stage of preparation for the transformation of the "intellectual" into the "material." Education and production are two processes which differ completely in their essence. The former is the process by which people are trained or nurtured and it is the process of developing the intellectual and physical qualities of people. The latter is the process of creating material wealth and it is the process by which man changes and uses up natural materials in forms useful to himself. Through education and the development of intellectual and physical strength, potential labor becomes real labor and general and simple labor becomes complex and specialized labor and hence education is the process by which "material" is consumed and transformed into "intellectual ability." It is because of the existence of this process of consumption that suitable labor required for a specific level of production

is provided, thereby making necessary preparations for the production process.

On the basis of the above analysis I believe it is possible and scientific to say that education is a kind of potential productive force, while to say that education is a real and direct productive force is not appropriate and not scientific, because the process of education itself does not produce wealth which is spent on educational costs, nor does it create surplus wealth in excess of educational costs. Marx said that education can produce labor ability and this is entirely correct. However, the action of producing labor ability is not the same as the action of direct material production. We can say that education is a nonproductive activity closely related to production and that the education sector is a nonproductive sector closely related to the production sector, but we cannot regard the activity of education as a production activity and the education sector as being a sector of production.

### III. How Should We Regard the Relationship Between Education and the Economic Base?

To a very great extent, the training which education gives people, or in other words the reproduction of labor, is determined by the level of development and the requirements of the productive forces. At the same time, educational activities themselves, especially the teaching of natural sciences and the technological knowledge, are to a very great extent linked to the level of development of the productive forces and are thus conditioned by the development of the productive forces. As a result of this, the entire content of education is not determined by the economic base or social production relations, and education may not be regarded merely as superstructure reflecting society's economic base. However, there exists a mutual relationship between education and the economic base and in many areas education is conditioned by the economic base, and the requirements that social production makes on education are often realized and made evident by means of the economic base. Hence, as far as the social nature of education is concerned, it does bear characteristics of the superstructure. In "The Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels clearly pointed out that bourgeois education is determined by the social relations of capitalism. In a class society, the fact that the means of production are privately owned means that interhuman relations in production are relations of exploitation and the education which reflects these relations has a very clear class nature.

The conditioning role of the economic base in education manifests itself in the following few ways:

1. Relations in the system of ownership determine the allocation of education. Whichever class or social body allocates material means of production also allocates spiritual means of production. The ruling class uses state political power to determine the aims of education, to select, appoint, and dismiss educational organizers and teachers, and to control educational costs, as well as determining educational policies and laws, and in these

ways wields control over education and ensures that education serves to consolidate that class' economic foundation and that education serves the class interests of that class.

2. The economic base determines people's rights to receive an education. In a society with private ownership of the means of production, not only does the exploiting class possess the means of production and the majority of the fruits of labor, it also enjoys the privilege of receiving education. Because the exploited class possesses no, or very little, property, it cannot have full rights to enjoy and receive education.

3. The economic base determines what kind of ideological system the person being educated absorbs and the political and moral elements and qualities fostered in the person being educated. These are all fundamental and decisive elements and qualities within the entire education system and they occupy a central position and thus control the content and methods of education.

From these above-mentioned few points we can see that a specific kind of education is determined by a specific kind of economic base. Naturally, education, conversely, has an enormous influence and effect on the economic base. This counterreaction that education has on the economic foundation is mainly achieved through the training of specific kinds of people to serve the economic base. In a class society the ruling class always takes advantage of education to train the kinds of people it requires and, through the medium of the school, it influences the masses so as to obtain a unified social consciousness and thus consolidate its economic foundation.

There is one school of thought which believes that due to the constantly increasing close relationship between education and modern production, the conditioning role which the economic base has on education is gradually being eroded. This viewpoint is not very appropriate. It is true that socialized large-scale production has already incorporated the natural sciences into the production process and thus education, in its function as means of training various kinds of modern labor, is seen as a question of vital importance for modern production. However, social production has always included the important aspect known as production relations and under any conditions, production is always carried out within specific social production relations, and hence the economic base still plays a determining role in education. In capitalist society the process of production is the process of producing surplus value, and the bourgeoisie, as the embodiment of capital, incorporates the natural sciences into production and views scientific and technological education as a means of producing acceptable labor, and hence everything is dominated by the desire to obtain surplus value. Decisions concerning how much scientific and technological education to give workers are entirely subordinated to the law of surplus value. Economic development cannot ensure that there is total equality between people's rights to education and the effects of their property status. Thus in the cases of Japan and West Germany, where the rate of educational propagation is very high, each household's property status is still a major factor which can influence a person's chance of higher education. Students

from low-income brackets still make up a very small proportion of those in higher education. Moreover, the function of education is always to imbue the person being educated with the class consciousness of a certain class. Thus it is not because of the close relationship between education and modern production that education has caused production relations to lose their decisive role in education. As a result, there are essential differences in the social nature of socialist education and capitalist education. Failure to see these differences or ignoring them and confusing these two essentially different kinds of education, is extremely harmful and damaging.

Since education possesses these characteristics of the superstructure, conversely, there inevitably exists between education and politics an extremely close relationship. Any school of thought which separates education from politics is incorrect.

However, we cannot simplify views of the relationship between education and politics. In the past, when pedagogics discussed the relationship between education and politics it was usually considered that politics and economics determined education and that education was a reflection of politics and economics. Education also greatly influenced politics and economics. In general this viewpoint is permissible, for politics is a concentrated manifestation of economics and within the sphere of the superstructure, politics occupies a guiding position, enormously influencing other areas of the superstructure. However, it is very unscientific and inappropriate simply to sweepingly define the relationship between politics and education as a relationship of determination and reflection and determination and subordination.

There are very broad links which exist between education and social production, the economic base, culture, science, and morals, and to say simply that education is determined by politics means that one is not including the limitations and influence that all these other social phenomena have on education. Similarly, education has many social functions and to say simply that education is subordinate to politics means that one is not including the role and influence of education on economics, culture, science, and morals. It is, logically speaking, taking a noncomprehensive view to regard the many attributes and functions of education as one attribute and one function, and it also displays a tendency to view the attributes and functions of education in too narrow a way. Socialist education is mainly determined by socialized modernized construction and in addition also serves this construction. Socialist modernized construction is an enormous undertaking and includes the construction of material civilization and also the construction of a high degree of democratic and spiritual civilization. Education should not only serve the socialist democratic dictatorship of the people, it should at the same time serve the construction of material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Practice proves that to view the relationship between education and politics as a relationship of subordination makes it very easy to one-sidedly over-stress the need for education to serve some temporary political task or even some so-called "political task" in one specific region. The results of such

actions will inevitably affect the overall implementation of the social function of education and lead to a weakening, even abandonment, of the fundamental functions of education, thereby affecting the overall improvements in the quality of education and in the long run affecting the basic aim of education, namely to serve socialist modernization. Lessons from our past work are well worth our remembering.

So what then is the relationship between education and politics? What influence does politics actually have on education?

Education is the action of nurturing or training people and education in any society must always conform with the demands of that society's economic base, and train specific kinds of people. Our education must train people to construct a socialist country with modernized industry, modernized agriculture, modernized defenses, modernized science and technology, a high degree of democracy, and a high degree of civilization. This, then, is the basic aim of socialist education. Here there is a fundamental unity between the general tasks of politics and the general tasks of education.

Training or nurturing the new generation means not only that we must be armed with knowledge of modern science and technology to carry out such education, but also that we provide education in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought so that this new generation forms specific political qualities and can maintain the socialist road, respect the leadership of the Communist Party, and have a willingness to serve the socialist cause. This, then, is the requirement of social politics and at the same time it is also the fundamental difference between our socialist education and education in other kinds of societies. People with these kinds of political characters entering society will inevitably influence and affect politics.

Included within the relationship between politics and education is the important question of party leadership in educational work. Some 30 years of experience have proved to us that in order to ensure that education upholds the socialist direction we must nurture and train talented people who are both communists and experts. We must correctly implement the party's line, principles, and policies in order to ensure that education effectively serves the construction of socialist modernization. In order to constantly consolidate and strengthen the Marxist front in schools and to resist the influence of various erroneous ways of thinking, we must uphold the party leadership in education, and any ideas or actions which weaken the party leadership are incorrect.

At the beginning of this article we said that the study of the nature of education is in actual fact a probing into the general laws of education. This article has only attempted to examine some of the general laws of education which exist within the relationship between education and social production, the economic base, and politics, as well as some of the internal contradictions within educational activities. Because of limited space we are unable in this article to discuss the relationship between education and law, morals, culture, science, and national customs, nor the question of the inherited nature of education.

# EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE ARTICLE 'ON HUMANISM AND ALIENATION'

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[Passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Humanities [ren wen zhu yi 0086 2429 0031 5030], Humanism [ren ben zhu yi [0086 2609 0031 5030], and Humanitarianism [ren dao zhu yi 0086 0670 0031 5030]/ (Humanitas) [preceding word in English] was a bourgeois ideological trend during the European Renaissance. This ideological trend first made its appearance in Italy in the latter half of the 14th century, and was further developed in other European countries between the 15th and 16th centuries. The term humanitas first implied humane studies. In the medieval age, schools were divided in accordance with their devotion to divinity studies (Studia divina) [preceding two words in English] or humane studies (Studia humana) [preceding two words in English]. Because the church and divinity studies dominated in the medieval age, the position of humane studies was of little importance. Directed at this situation, the new rising bourgeois thinkers of the Renaissance wanted to develop humane studies. At first humanitas referred chiefly to the development of secular education, but later it was made further explicit that such secular education should take the academic culture of ancient Greece and Rome as its main content. Thus, an ideological movement was gradually formed, with the academic culture of ancient Greece and Rome in opposition to divinity studies. Humanitas stressed the status of man, while opposing the subjection of man to God. "Human dignity" and "free will" were the constant topics of the humanists. Such ideas had close resemblance to the humanist ideological system of later generations. Therefore, despite the fact that the term (Humanism) [preceding word in English] had not yet come into existence during the Renaissance, humanitas can still be included in the realm of humanism, and can be regarded as the initial form of expression of bourgeois humanism.

Humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] (Anthropologismus [preceding word in English] is a German word, originally meaning anthropology), this is the study of the explanation of man from a biological viewpoint, and its chief representative was Feuerbach, the German materialist philosopher of the 19th century. He said: "The new philosophy (the name Feuerbach gave to his own philosophy) regards man from the viewpoint of nature, which is the basis of man, and the sole, universal, and highest object of philosophy--therefore, it also regards anthropology and biology as universal sciences." ("Selected Philosophical Works of Feuerbach," Vol 1, p 184) The reason he

called his doctrine Anthropologismus [preceding word in English] was that he stressed that the man in question was the man in anthropology. Chernyshevski, the Russian revolutionary democrat, also regarded his doctrine as humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030], and openly proclaimed that he was a student of Feuerbach. Humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] played an active role in the struggle against religious divinity studies and idealism, but the man that it referred to was man in biological sense, departing from a certain historical condition and social relations, and, therefore, abstract man; so, it was a "narrow," "inaccurate, and shallow explanation on materialism." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 78)

Human is a far wider concept than humanities, and humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] does not specifically refer to any doctrine, but is an ideological system broadly referring to laying stress on man's status, affirming human value, and safeguarding human dignity and rights. Starting from the humanitas of the Renaissance, there have been many forms of expression of humanism, among them being the so-called rational humanism of the age Enlightenment, the humanism [ren ben zhu yi 0086 2609 0031 5030] represented by Feuerbach and Chernyshevski, the positivist humanism represented by Comte, the so-called contemporary existentialist humanism, the humanism of new Thomasmism (a philosophical sect devoted to the study of the scholastic philosophical and theological system of Thomas Aquinas), and so on. Despite their differences in content and form of expression, all these schools of humanism express the demands of the bourgeoisie, and are all bourgeois humanism. Apart from bourgeois humanism, utopian socialism also contains the essence of humanism. Humanism has always had meaning in two aspects: a world outlook and historical conception on the one hand, and as an ethical principle and moral norm on the other. As a world outlook and historical conception, humanism is idealistic, and often observes history employing certain permanent criterion for human nature with which to judge history. As an ethical principle and moral norm, there are rational factors in humanism, which can be critically inherited by socialist humanism.

/"Paradise--Paradise Lost--Paradise Regained"/ "Paradise" is the other name for "Eden" in the Christian "Bible." The "Bible" says: Jehovah created the first ancestors of men, Adam and Eve, and let them live in Eden (namely, paradise), and they lived a happy and harmonious life without any worries. God told them not to eat the fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; however, tempted by a snake, they ate the forbidden fruit in violation of God's will. God was so angry that He drove them out of paradise. Since then, men have become "sinful," and have lost paradise. After Jesus came into the world, he on many occasions resisted the temptations of Satan, and had a firm belief in Jehovah, therefore spreading among people a faith in God; Jesus and those who are devoted to God are admitted to paradise in heaven.

In his book "Marxism and Humanism" (published in 1961), P. Bigo, the contemporary French theologian, concluded Marxism to be humanism. He holds that what Marxism is trying to prove is that the early stage of mankind was paradise, which was lost later; but that after disaster, mankind will finally regain the lost paradise, "in which all is humane, and everyone

treats others with sincerity." In his view, Bigo believes that there is no difference between Marxism, which explains the development of history with the formula "classless society--class society--classless society," and such a theological formula as "paradise--paradise lost--paradise regained." This is a grave distortion.

/Commodity Fetishism/ Fetishism is a kind of superstition in which an object is believed to have magical power and is worshipped as a god. The causes of its existence are a low level of productive forces, a lack of scientific knowledge, and a failure to give correct explanations of natural phenomena, such as wind, rain, thunder, electricity, water, and fire, which are regarded as powers governing the fate of men, and worshipped. Under the condition of private ownership, social relations between the commodity producers take the illusory form of material relations, and Marx analogized the worship of material (commodities) as commodity fetishism.

There was originally nothing mysterious about commodities as the products of human labor. However, in a society based on private ownership, when the products of labor adopt the form of commodities, a mysterious nature will come into existence. Under such a condition, the personal labor of every laborer will be changed into social labor and acknowledged by society only as means of exchange, by selling his products; otherwise, production will not be able to continue, and there is even the danger of bankruptcy. Commodities are originally produced by the commodity producers, but become a power that dominates their fate. The blind and spontaneous force of the market has become a mysterious force that dominates the commodity producers. The social relations between commodity producers are concealed by material relations, and commodities have changed from something ordinary, which can be touched, into something that can be perceived, but at the same time is beyond perception. Hence, the existence of commodity fetishism.

/Hegel's Concept of "Alienation"/ Hegel was a German classical philosopher, an objective idealist. "Alienation" was an important idea which he used in forming his idealistic philosophical system. It was very close to what he implied by externalization and objectification, and sometimes they could be used interchangeably, meaning, specifically, how a subjective body is transformed into an objective one, and how an absolute ideal is transformed into the objective world.

Hegel held that the world developed on the basis of the absolute ideal. At first, neither nature nor human society existed, and there was only the movement and development of absolute ideal as a pure, abstract concept, this being the so-called stage of logic. Later, when the absolute ideal developed to its highest point in the stage of logic, it began to deny itself, and to "externalize" into nature, entering upon the stage of nature. The stage of nature was in opposition to the stage of logic, and while in this stage, the absolute ideal retrograded and degraded. In order to regain its perfection and unity, it was necessary for the absolute ideal to recover its original nature--the spiritual realism. Therefore, once again, the spiritual stage began. In this stage, Hegel adopted "alienation" to explain the transformation of subjective spirit into



objective spirit. The latter included such social ideas as the law, morality, and ethics, derived from the subjective spirit, which included such individual ideologies as anthropology, phenomenology, and psychology and was placed in opposition to it.

Hegel also explained the opposition between workers and their products with the concept of "alienation." Hegel's understanding of labor was abstract, holding that labor was the objectivization and alienation of self-consciousness, namely, abstract spiritual labor. Therefore, he believed that with the development of production, progress in technology, and the utilization of machines, human labor tended to become more and more abstract and alienated, and men ended by becoming slaves of the machines, labor having changed from purposeful, creative activity into something that dominated the laborer, that is, changing from the self-realization of the individual into self-negation. Hegel's analysis of labor had a certain effect on Marx when the latter put forth the idea of alienation in his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." In this work, Marx also criticized Hegel for his viewpoint of only recognizing abstract spiritual labor.

In Hegelian philosophy, whether it was "alienation," "externalization," or "objectification," they all meant that when the subjective body developed to a certain stage, it would give rise to another objective body; therefore, they had the implications of "derivation," and "transformation." At the same time, this objective body, derived from the subjective body, became the opposite of the subjective body, and, hence, an alien force. "Alienation" was a concept which Hegel used to prove that it was the means by which the subjective body incessantly transforms itself into some other thing (namely object) in its own development, understands itself in the other object, and finally returns to itself. Hegel's "alienation," like his whole philosophical system, had the speculative color of mysticism.

/Feuerbach's Concept of "Alienation"/ In Feuerbach, the concept of "alienation" was used to explain and criticize religion. Feuerbach held that in order to be rid of dependence on nature and to govern it, man, through his own imagination, had exaggerated some human characteristics and transferred them into a fantastic real object, which was God. This meant that man had created God, who in return controlled and governed him; and God was the alienation of man himself. Therefore, Feuerbach called God the alienation of the intrinsic quality of man. Feuerbach believed that this theory of his had revealed the secret of religion. His book "The Essence of Christianity" played a great role in the emancipation of men's thinking at that time.

Feuerbach's "alienation" and that of Hegel is that Feuerbach did not start from the abstract absolute ideal, but from the perceived man. This expressed his materialist ideas and negation of Hegel's idealist philosophy. However, when he said that God was the self-alienation of the intrinsic quality of man, the man and the intrinsic quality of man he referred to were abstract, without any practical essence. Therefore, he could only explain the existence of such alienation from a nonhistorical view of humanist science [ren ben xue 0086 2609 1331]. Despite the fact that here

Feuerbach had given "alienation" the essence of materialism, it was just as Marx pointed out: "Feuerbach failed to see that 'religious feeling' itself was a /social product/, and that the individual abstract man he analyzed actually belonged to a certain social form." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 18) Therefore, his theory of alienation, based on the abstract, intrinsic quality of man, was still incapable of revealing the origin of religion.

/Langevin/ Paul Langevin (1872-1946), noted French physicist. He did research on X-rays, the theory of electromagnetism, the kinetic theory of gases, and the theory of relativity, and made great contributions in particular to the fields of paramagnetism and diamagnetism. He laid the foundation of the law of transmission of ultrasonic waves, and succeeded in producing an ultra-high frequency transducer with a piezoelectric material, which was applied to undersea communication and research on the structure of metal. He wrote "Time and Cause," and "The Works of Henri Poincare" (a biography of the French mathematician). He had all along persisted in a materialist view in his scientific research work, opposing idealistic explanations of the achievements in modern physics, calling such explanations "spiritual corruption." In 1941, when Hitler's German army occupied France, he took an active part in the struggle against fascism. Though arrested on several occasions, he never surrendered. He joined the French Communist Party in 1944.

/Picasso/ Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Spanish painter. He was born into the family of an art teacher in Spain, and took his mother's surname. From 1904, he was long settled in Paris, becoming the chief representative of the French modern school of painting. He joined the French Communist Party, and was one of the world-famous fighters for peace. He was a humanist, and a patriot. At the time when the Spanish people were engaged in their anti-fascist struggle, and during World War II, Picasso created a series of paintings entitled "The Illusions and Lies of Franco," illustrated by poems, which expressed fully his hatred and condemnation of Franco. His oil painting "Guernica" is a famous piece of work, making accusations concerning the atrocities of fascism, and his representative work. In the postwar period, he became a fighter striving for peace and democracy. The poster "The Dove of Peace" has become a symbol for peace. In his later years, Picasso created a large number of statues and ceramic works. His works have had a great influence on the modern schools of Western art.

/Shaw/ George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), outstanding realistic novelist and playwright of Great Britain. He was fond of music from childhood. In 1879 he began his literary career, and wrote 5 novels, over 50 plays, and other literary works during his lifetime. His novel "An Unsocial Socialist," and his plays "Widower's Houses," "Mrs Warren's Profession," "Candida," "The Devil's Disciple," "Major Barbara," "The Apple Cart," "Too True To Be Good," and "Why She Would Not," have in the main exposed the evils of various descriptions under the capitalist system, criticizing the colonialist expansion of Great Britain and revealing the spiritual crisis in capitalist society. In his lifetime, he went through a complicated and contradictory road. In 1882, influenced by Henry George, petit bourgeois

economist of the United States, he began to study problems of social economy. In 1884, he joined the Fabian Society, a British reformist organization, and was one of the organizers of the society. He had read Marx' "Das Kapital," which helped him deepen his understanding of the evils of the capitalist system. He gave sympathetic attention to the development of the British working class movement. After the Russian October Revolution, he further dispelled the ideological effects of Fabian reformism. In his later years, he explicitly supported the American Communist Party. During the British general election in 1945, he voted for the leading member of the British Communist Party. He also showed sympathy and support for the Chinese revolution. In 1925, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. He visited the Soviet Union in 1931, and China the following year, and met Song Qingling, Chai Yuanpei, Lu Xun, and others.

/Bernal/ John Desmond Bernal (1901-1971), British physicist, who believed in Christianity in his youth. He entered Cambridge University in 1919, and discovered and studied Marxist works. Later he took up teaching at Cambridge and London Universities. From 1937, he was a member of the Royal Society. During World War II, he resolutely took the side of the invaded countries and nations, and applied science and technology to the just struggle against fascism. After the war, he devoted himself to the study of the atomic structures of compounds, on the basis of his achievements in crystallography and biochemistry, and made outstanding contributions to the study of the structures of metals, hormones, vitamins, proteins, and viruses. He took an active part in the peace movement, and was elected, in succession, member and vice chairman of the British Peace Committee, and, in succession, vice chairman and chairman of the standing committee of the World Peace Council. He systematically studied the classical works of Marxism, and came to understand that only Marxism would be able to correctly understand and solve the historical tasks confronting modern society. He persisted in striving for social progress and the development of science, publicizing the great achievements of socialism, revealing the criminal acts of the fanatical military expansion of imperialism and calling on scientists to strive to make science serve the people. His major works were: "The Social Function of Science," "The Inevitable Freedom," "The Physical Basis of Life," "Science in History," and so on.

/Li Yuese/ Li Yuese (real name Joseph Needham, Li Yuese being the Chinese name he has given himself), noted British scholar in biochemistry and historian in international science. Born in London in 1900, he worked in Sir F. G. Hopkins laboratory after his graduation from Cambridge. He became a member of the British Royal Society in 1941. He was appointed head of the British science delegation to China, and counsellor of the British Embassy in China in 1942. In 1946, he served as assistant secretary general in charge of science under UNESCO, and founded the department of science. He went back to give lectures at Cambridge, and became principal of one of the colleges of Cambridge University. Li Yuese sympathized with and supported the war of resistance against Japan of the Chinese people, and provided help to the revolutionary base areas under the leadership of the CPC. In 1952, he went to Korea, participating in the international investigation team of scientists, and condemned the atrocities of the U.S.

aggressors in the use of bacteriological weapons. Since the founding of new China, he has on many occasions visited China, introducing the tremendous changes in China to the world, and refuting distortion and slanders on China with his articles or speeches. He has for a long time acted as chairman of the Anglo-Chinese Friendship Association, and is president of the Anglo-Chinese Understanding Association from 1965 to this day. At the end of the 1940's, he began his work on "A History of Chinese Science and Technology," systematically introducing to the world the development of various fields of science in ancient China and the great contributions it has made to the world's science and technology and culture. It is planned that when the work is completed, it will be in 20 books in 7 volumes, which are being published in succession. In 1980, the Chinese Academy of Sciences conferred on him the title of honorary research professor of the research institute of the history of natural sciences under the academy. On 29 November 1983, the State Scientific and Technological Commission and the Chinese Academy of Sciences awarded him with the first prize for natural sciences of China, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences conferred on him an honorary doctor's degree and the postgraduate research institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences conferred on him the title of honorary professor.

/Heinrich Mann/ Heinrich Mann (1871-1950), German writer of critical realism, was born into the family of a prosperous merchant in Lubeck in northern Germany. When he was studying in the Universities of Berlin and Munich in his youth, he was influenced by the ideas of the French Enlightenment movement and progressive literature, and took an interest in art and literature. His first novel "In a Family" appeared in 1894. He created the novel "In the Land of Cockaigne," his representative work, in 1900, in which the decadence of high society in Berlin at that time was portrayed. In another novel, "Professor Unrat," published in 1905, the German bourgeois educational system and the morally decadent elements were sharply criticized. Around World War I, Heinrich Mann spent over 10 years writing three novels: "The Patrioteer," "The Poor," and "The Chief," constituting the Das Kaisserrreich Trilogy which revealed and criticized the German reactionary social system, chauvinists, and working class nobility. During this period, he wrote the famous essay "On Zola," prophesying the inevitable doom of aggressive war, stimulating a tremendous response. After World War I, his wish for peaceful reformation of the German capitalist system was destroyed, and he turned his attention to the development of the socialist system in the Soviet Union. After the Nazis seized power in Germany in the 1930's Heinrich Mann was compelled to leave Germany for exile, and unfolded the antifascist struggle with Gorki, Romain Rolland, Barbusse, and others. "Henry the Fourth," the historical novel written by Heinrich Mann between 1935 and 1938, became the representative work of his later years, having humanism as its ideological content and a beautiful artistic form.

/Thomas Mann/ Thomas Mann (1875-1955), German novelist, younger brother of Heinrich Mann. In 1901, Thomas Mann became famous with the publication of the novel "Buddenbrooks." Through the story of a declining bourgeois family, he portrayed the historical process of the shift of German capitalism from

free competition to monopoly. During World War I, he once defended the war launched by Germany from a nationalist standpoint. After the war, he became anxious and resented the ever-growing rampant forces of fascism, approving and publicizing democracy. In 1924, he completed the novel "The Magic Mountain," in which he revealed the abnormal life style and spiritual emptiness of the bourgeoisie. It was another work of critical realism by Thomas Mann. In 1929, he won the Nobel Prize for literature. In the 1930's, when the Nazis seized power in Germany, Thomas Mann was compelled to go abroad into exile, and created the novel "Joseph and His Brothers," and the novel "Doctor Faustus," which expressed the tragedy of an artist in capitalist society, and many other works. Thomas Mann was a critical realistic writer, a sincere humanist. His ideology advanced in its development with his ever-deepening understanding of the nature of capitalist society in the fight against Nazi rule and aggressive war. He had a premonition that a new world would appear. The main trend in his literary creation was the revelation that the capitalist system would come to an end when it arrived at the stage of imperialism. He once called his works "the ending of the book," implying that they were "funeral songs" for capitalism.

/Brecht/ Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), famous modern German playwright and poet. During his youth, he studied philosophy and medicine at the University of Munich. During World War I, he witnessed the cruelty of the war, and fought against it from the standpoint of pacifism. After the war, he took part in the uprising of the local workers and soldiers, and wrote the play "Drums in the Night," which was later awarded the Kleist-Preis when it was performed and aroused the attention of German dramatic circles, and he was invited to act as director and art consultant of the Munich theatrical company, and art consultant of the German Berlin theatrical company. From the late 1920's, he systematically studied the doctrine of socialism while doing creative work. He studied "Das Kapital," and came to understand the malpractices and nature of the capitalist system. When Hitler came to power in 1933, he was forced to go abroad into exile, and all along persisted in the struggle against fascism. He returned to Berlin in 1948. From 1949, he had initiated and led the Berliner Ensemble. Brecht was the initiator of the school of German Epic theater. He held that art should provide education in amusement, helping the audience to take the initiative in taking part in the activities of transforming the world. In his lifetime, Brecht wrote a large number of progressive works of critical realism. In his early works, he attempted to reveal the function and nature of the bourgeois governmental machine, while portraying the malpractices of capitalist society. The development in depth of the German working class movement and the struggle against fascism pushed forward Brecht's ideology to develop with the orientation of socialism and Marxism. In his later years, he wrote many revolutionary poems influential in the enlightenment of the workers. The educational play "Mother" (based on Gorki's novel) which aimed at criticizing the reformism in the German working class movement, and the historical play "Galileo" which laid stress on the great responsibility of scientists to society, and on opposing compromise with reactionary forces, were the representative works of Brecht. His works on the theory of drama "A Little Organum for the Theatre," and "New Techniques in the Performing Art" were also influential.

/Dreiser/ Theodore Dreiser (1871-1945), outstanding American writer of critical realism. He had been an apprentice, unemployed, and a tramp. In 1892, he became a journalist, and plunged into social life in depth and breadth, showing a deep sympathy for the sufferings of the working class. He took up literary creation in 1900. There was a naturalist color to his early works. The Russian October Revolution affected his thinking and creation. His early works included "Sister Carrie," "Jennie Gerhardt," "The Genius," and so on. After 1925, he published the novel "An American Tragedy." Other important works included the trilogy "Desire" ("The Financier," "The Titan," and "The Stoic"). These works truthfully depicted the tragic living conditions of the lower levels of the American people, exposing the corruption and dark inside of the American society and revealing the historical fate of capitalism, which is doomed to extinction. In particular, "An American Tragedy," in which he described how a young man became a victim of the corruption of capitalist society, committed a crime, and ended in destruction; the story profoundly exposes the evils of the capitalist system in the United States. Just as he himself said: "This book is on the whole an accusation against the (American) social system." In 1927, he visited the Soviet Union, and wrote "Dreiser Looks at Russia" when he returned, expressing his yearning for socialism. From then on, he plunged into the depths of factories and mines to carry out investigation and study, taking part in the workers movement and explicitly proclaiming "support of the communist principle," and actively devoted himself to the struggle against fascism. In 1941, he was elected chairman of the American Writers' Association, and joined the American Communist Party in August 1945. He died in December of the same year. Throughout his life, Theodore Dreiser sought for truth, fighting heroically, criticizing the old capitalist world, using literature as a weapon, and pushing forward the cause of progressive American literature.

/Chaplin/ Charles Chaplin (1889-1977), film artist, famous comedian. Born in London into a family of music hall performers, Chaplin began to perform on the stage at the age of 7. He was an actor with the Fred Karno company (an English vaudeville troupe); later he went on tour in the United States with the troupe. In November 1913, when the last performance was over, he left the troupe and began his film career in Los Angeles. He made over 80 films during his lifetime, his representative works being: "The Gold Rush," "City Lights," "Modern Times," "The Great Dictator," and so on. After World War II, he made the films "Monsieur Verdoux," and "Limelight." Because he took part in progressive activities, and incessantly exposed the evils of the capitalist system, expressing his sympathy for the working people at the lower levels, and because of his complaints against the capitalist system, he was persecuted by reactionary McCarthyism. In 1940, he was subjected to accusations by the "Un-American Activities Committee," and was often summoned for interrogation. However, he persisted in the struggle, and was forced to leave the United States in 1952 to settle in Switzerland. In 1957 he made the film "A King in New York," and in 1966 he made his last film, "A Countess From Hong Kong." Most of the films made by Chaplin were directed and acted in by himself. With his genius in the performing art, he created the character of a tramp. This nobody was despised and injured everywhere under the capitalist system. Through the comic

happenings of this character, the audience see all the irrationalities under the capitalist system while they are laughing, and sympathizes with his sufferings and misfortune. In 1954, Comrade Zhou Enlai met him in Geneva; in the same year, he won the international peace prize. The outstanding artistic achievements of Chaplin won the respect of peoples of various countries throughout the world, and made him a great master of the film art, enjoying a worldwide reputation.

/Snow/ Edgar Snow (1905-1972), famous American progressive journalist, writer, and sincere friend of the Chinese people. Born in Kansas City, the United States, Snow graduated from the college of journalism of the University of Missouri. He began his journalistic career in 1927, and came to China in 1928. In February 1933, he met Lu Xun in Shanghai, and translated the novel "The True Story of Ah Q" and other works into English. He witnessed the domestic troubles and foreign invasion of China, and had a deep sympathy for the Chinese people. He took an active part in supporting the Chinese people in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the KMT reactionaries. In 1936, risking his life, he visited the northern Shaanxi revolutionary base area of our country, and became acquainted with Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other leading figures of the CPC. In 1937, he wrote "Red Star Over China." In a simple style, he vividly publicized the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and the Long March of the Worker-Peasant Red Army under the leadership of the CPC. This book broke the 10-year blockade of the Chinese liberated area on the part of the KMT, spreading the heroic feats of the Chinese revolutionary people to many places in the world. After the founding of the PRC, Snow visited China on three occasions, in 1960, 1964, and 1970 respectively introducing the arduous and magnificent revolutionary and construction causes of the Chinese people to the world with his reports, writings, and speeches, making contributions to the promotion of the friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. Apart from "Red Star Over China," his works included "On the Other Side of the River," "Great Changes in China," "Scorched Earth," "On the Far Eastern Front," "My 13 Years in Old China," "The Long Revolution," and so on.

/Neruda/ Pablo Neruda (1904-1973), famous Chilean poet. He was consul, consul general, and ambassador to foreign countries. During the Spanish Civil War, he wrote "Spain in the Heart," enthusiastically singing the praises of the Spanish people and the international column that fought heroically, while condemning fascist atrocities. In 1945, Neruda was elected senator, and joined the Chilean Communist Party in the same year. Because of changes in the Chilean political situation, he left Chile for exile in 1949 and joined the world peace movement. He went to many countries in Europe, the Americas, Asia, and China too. Among his poetic works, the most important was "General Song," completed in 1950. In this collection, he sang in praise of his motherland, of the heroic figures in the history of Latin America, and of ordinary workers, such as sailors, cobblers, fishermen, and miners, and acutely revealed the reactionary ruling classes. In 1953, Neruda returned to Chile, and published in succession his collections of poems "Odas Elementales," "Las Uvas y el Viento," "Nuevas Odas Elementales," "Cantos Ceremoniales," and so on. In 1971, he won the Nobel Prize for literature.

/Bethune/ Norman Bethune (1890-1939), famous Canadian surgeon. In his youth, he showed deep sympathy for the weak and the oppressed. In the mid-1930's, he appealed to society for the building of a socialized medical system, providing free medical services to the poor. In 1935, Bethune joined the Canadian Communist Party. When the German and Italian fascists carried out armed interference in the Spanish revolution in 1936, he went to Spain to take part in the antifascist war with the Canadian volunteers. He organized blood donation on the battlefield, and initiated the first mobile blood transfusion station in history, saving the lives of many antifascist commanders and fighters. When the war of resistance against Japan broke out in China, he was sent by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States to work in the liberated area of China with a medical team. He showed a great sense of responsibility in his work and warmheartedness toward all comrades and the people, serving the anti-Japanese army and people with his distinguished medical skill, while training a large number of medical cadres. Once, in a battle, he operated on 115 wounded soldiers and 69 hours without a break. He said: "My only hope is to be able to make more contributions." He also edited the book "The Organization and Skill of Division Field Hospitals in Guerrilla War." In the article "In Memory of Norman Bethune," Comrade Mao Zedong praised him for his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, and his spirit of internationalism and communism. In 1939, he contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died in Wanxian, Hebei, in 1939.

/Tagore/ Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), well-known Indian poet, writer, and social activist. His early works "Evening Song," "Morning Song," and others were permeated by his praise for nature and youth and rich in romanticism, giving free expression to his own ideological experiences; however, there were "more dreams and fantasies in them than reality." In the early 1890's, his collection of poems "Yearnings in My Heart" was published, expressing his concern for reality, and he began to form his own peculiar style of creation. Later, he became chief editor of the magazine SA TA NA [5646 1044 4780], while continuing his writing in short stories, such as "Paying Debts," "Su Ba [4790 5359]," "Mo Ke Mo Ye [2302 6084 2302 5102]," "To Live or To Die?" and so on, exposing irrational social phenomena and conduct discriminating against women, and expressing his deep sympathy for the peasants. From 1903, Tagore published in succession the novels "Sand Dust," "The Sinking Boat," and "Ge La [2047 2139]," the plays "Mo Ji Duo Ta La [2302 0679 1122 1044 2139]" and "The Post Office," and the collections of poems "Ji Tan Jia Li [0679 2905 8026 0448]," "The New Moon," "The Gardener," "The Flying Bird," and so on. In 1913, he won the Nobel Prize for literature. During his lifetime, Tagore's creation of literary works was abundant. As the founder of modern Indian literature, his works have exerted wide influence on Indian society and the whole world. In Tagore's world outlook, humanitarian [ren dao zhu yi 0086 0670 0031 5030] ideas had an important place. An intense spirit of patriotism and concern for the progress of mankind ran through his lifetime of creative activities. Particularly after his visit to the Soviet Union in 1930, he deepened his understanding and sympathy for socialism, and published the book "Letters From Russia." In the late 1930's when Japan and Germany launched aggressive war, he explicitly expressed his hatred for fascism in his poems "The Man Who Worships the Buddha," "Confessions," and others, calling on the peoples of all countries to "fight"



in welcoming in "the awakening dawn of the times." Tagore was a true friend of the Chinese people, on many occasions writing articles condemning imperialism in its aggressive activities toward China. He visited China in 1924.

/Takeo Arishima/ Takeo Arishima (1878-1923), Japanese novelist. He was born into an aristocratic family. In his childhood and youth, he received an education in Confucianism and also a Western education. In 1903 he studied history and economics at Harvard in the United States, and was influenced by materialism. Beginning in 1906, he began to have his works published. In 1910 he joined his brothers and their friends Shiga Naoya and Mushanokoji Saneatsu in publishing the journal WHITE BIRCH, forming the well-known school bearing the same name. This literary genre actively advocated "bringing into play the role of the human will through the individual and individuality," while opposing the naturalist trend of aestheticism of that time. Therefore, it was also called humanitarian literature or new idealist literature. His representative work was the novel "A Certain Woman," portraying an awakening female in the Meiji restoration period, struggling against the bondage of feudal ethics, demanding the emancipation of individuality; nevertheless, failing to escape the net of the dark society and meeting with destruction. The novel gave expressions to the evils of the society of that time. Another of his representative works, "The Descendants of Cain," dealt with the miserable conditions of tenant farmers. As a genuine humanitarian, Takeo Arishima worked hard to express people's lives in his creations, to sympathize with socialism, and to write essays promoting proletarian literature. Nevertheless, because of his class origins and educational background, it was impossible for him to get rid of his ideological contradictions and depression. He failed to see the developing orientation of the times, and finally chose the path of suicide.

/Yurito Miyamoto/ Yurito Miyamoto (1899-1951), Japanese female novelist. She was born into a bourgeois family in Tokyo. She loved Russian literature when attending middle school, in particular the works of Tolstoy. When she was 17, she published her first book "The Poor People," which showed sympathy for the poor, and aroused the attention of society. The novel "Nobuko," published in the 1920's, portrayed the conflict of a Japanese woman who was seeking the emancipation of individuality with her family, and had a certain place in her early works. In 1927, she went to the Soviet Union and to many countries in Europe. She joined the "Japanese Proletarian Writers' Alliance" in 1930, and the Japanese Communist Party in 1931. In 1930 she married Kenji Miyato. Between 1932 and 1941, she was arrested by the reactionaries on five occasions, and spent 9 years altogether in prison. Her chief works during this period were "Spring in 1932," "Always," "Oiwai and His Family," "The Breast," "Taki Sugi," "The Face," "The Square," "The Fourth Week in March," and so on, and she wrote many articles on literary criticism. After World War II, she took an active part in the reconstruction of the Japanese Communist Party, and participated in the activities of the Japanese Literary Society. She produced "Grass That Tells About the Wind," "On the Plains of Himeji," "Two Courtyards," and "The Road Sign," portraying postwar life in Japan, lashing out at autocratic politics and aggressive wars, and the process of educated

women gradually raising their consciousness and are inclining toward socialism.

/Hajime Kawakami/ Hajime Kawakami (1879-1946), Japanese Marxist economist and social activist. He graduated from the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1902. He believed in humanitarianism [ren dao zhu yi 0086 0670 0031 5030] in his early years, regarding the contradiction in capitalist society as the contradiction between egotism and altruism, and advocated "absolute altruism," trying to realize social reform through changing the thinking of the rich. In 1913, he went to study in Europe, and returned to Japan in the following year. He began teaching as a professor at Kyoto Imperial University in 1915. At that time, the Japanese students and workers had a passion for the study of social sciences. In 1919 he initiated the journal STUDIES ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS, and engaged in work of ideological enlightenment among young students and the working class movement. In the process, his ideology gradually changed to the orientation of Marxism. His "Outline of Economics," published in 1928, was a signal of his ideological change. He said in the preface: "At first, I began my study with capitalist economics. For years, I have been seeking a place to settle down, approaching nearer and nearer to Marx, and have finally turned in a direction diametrically opposed to my original starting point." In order to overcome an idealist conception of history in trying to solve social problems from the standpoint of humanitarianism, he had gone through an ordeal of over three decades. He was an economist who was seeking for truth, and made very great contributions to the spread of Marxism in Japan. His major works were: "A Study on Historical Materialism," "Social Organization and Social Revolution," and "An Introduction to 'Das Kapital,'" and so on.

CSO: 4004/69

## A COMMUNIST SHOULD NOT FEAR SUFFERING LOSSES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 84 inside back cover

[Article by Zhai Bian [7872 6708]]

[Text] "A communist should not fear suffering losses" is a quote from the "Old Peasant Association" in the film "A Story Which Should Not Have Taken Place." This is a simple and unadorned saying which sharply points out a major problem which has to be resolved during the cause of changing the general mood of the party.

The ultimate objective of a communist is to wholeheartedly serve the public. It is beyond doubt that he should not fear suffering losses in order to benefit the masses of people. However, there are some communists who have really been indifferent to or even forgotten their ultimate objective. Some of them even did not think of suffering losses when they joined the party. Perhaps they might have said one thing and done another. What they have in mind is to take advantage of the power of their position. No wonder such communists have lost the trust of the people. That communists have lost the election of production brigade leader of Ming Yue Gou and that no communists have been invited to join production groups directly reflects how people think of communists.

The party's leadership is activated mainly by its correct doctrines and the exemplary role of its members, who educate and attract the masses of the people. Only in this way can the people realize that their interests are represented by the party and will they voluntarily follow the party and support the communists as their leaders. In the revolutionary struggle, numerous communists have been in the van fighting for the revolution and have even sacrificed their lives for the liberation of the people, and helped the party gain high prestige and great trust from the people. In the cause of construction, there are not so many life-and-death cases. The masses of the people, however, judge the party by the behavior of its members. In the film, the "leading party group," after its formation, does everything possible despite great difficulties to assist those households with material difficulties, which have too many family members and insufficient labor force, and were unwelcomed by others in the process of regrouping peasant households. In early summer when water supply was inadequate, the members of the leading party group stopped up their own irrigation

canals and let the water irrigate the land of the masses. When the people were short of fertilizer for farming, they shared their own lot, of which they were only self-sufficient, with the masses. These three examples, though neither striking nor heroic, have vividly and specifically pointed out that a communist should suffer losses and give up his interests to the public. In this way, he can not only wash off his stigma and regain his true qualities but also redeem the party's reputation and retrieve its losses. To achieve this is, of course, by no means easy. The ideological struggle of the communists in the film, including Liang Cai who has been in the party for decades, in respect of giving up their water to the masses of the people, is true and credible. It is equally logical that Wei Fuxiang, who always thinks of taking advantage ever since he joined the party, is eliminated for being unable to pass through the above-mentioned three checks. In actual life, there are communists of this type who are always profuse with convincing arguments and give a good performance in normal times but cannot stand the test when personal interests, such as salary increase or promotion, allocation of quarters, or making arrangements for their children, are involved. They may even gain interest on the strength of their position. Though such communists are not great in number, they have presented a bad image to the masses of people.

It is natural that a communist has to eat in order to live. And he has to support his family. He is permitted to have proper personal interests. However, a communist is different from ordinary people in that he has to take up the responsibility of uniting the masses of people and achieving the ultimate objective of communism. As he has joined the party on a voluntary basis, he should place the masses above anything. He should not fear suffering losses when his personal interests are in conflict with those of the public and he should be bold to sacrifice himself. In fact, thousands upon thousands of "orthodox" senior and young communists are doing this. They believe that it is unnatural for a communist to scramble for profit with the public. The reason is that it has been a nice tradition for the party to be the first to suffer losses and the last to enjoy prosperity. The communists of Ming Yue Gou have regained this tradition by actual deeds, which have helped the public know more about the party and create a tremendous moving force. The ending of the film is touching and inspirational.

Why is it that a year ago the communists of Ming Yue Gou were cold-shouldered by the brigade members and the masses and a year later have become the targets of the same people who were regrouping peasant households? What are the main factors for the gap between the party and the public? How do we narrow it? The film has inspired us deeply.

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## A TEXTBOOK OF PHILOSOPHY FOR CADRES

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["Book review" by Xian Yue [0405 1878]]

[Text] "The Tenets of Marxist Philosophy (a Textbook for Cadres)," compiled by the philosophy teaching and research section of the party school of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and published by China's Social Sciences Publishing Company, is a philosophy textbook suitable for cadres of the junior and middle rank.

A distinguishing feature of the textbook is that it has attached much importance to the application of theories. The major policies on both theory and practice adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are discussed in special paragraphs and topics after philosophical tenets are mentioned. For example, in chapter two, which is about the material nature of the world, the ideological line of "being realistic and practical" is also discussed. In chapter five, which is about the law of the unity of opposites, the policy of "being self-reliant and independent," which is adopted in accordance with the principle of the relationship between the actual situation of China and the external and internal factors of dialectical materialism, is also justified. In chapters 13 and 14, which are about the fundamental social problems, the methods of proceeding from the actual situation of China to establish various sound systems of production responsibilities and reform and perfect our superstructure are also discussed. In chapters 12 and 16, which are about material production and social awareness, the construction of material culture and spiritual culture is also discussed. The textbook gives much help to cadres in comprehending the soundness of the party's line, policy, and guiding principles through Marxist philosophy and in learning to make use of Marxist philosophy through the party's line, policy, and guiding principles.

In view of the characteristics and basic needs of the cadres, the textbook has also attached much importance to the explanation of the party's successful ideologies, methods, ways of leadership, and outstanding traditions. For instance, in chapter nine, which is on cognition and practice, the subject of "survey and research" is thoroughly discussed. A systematic introduction to popular and major ways of survey and research is also given.

In this way, the world outlook, methodology, fundamental philosophical tenets, and ways of actual work of dialectical materialism are thus naturally linked.

In addition, in the light of the requirement of conventional teaching at a party school, the textbook, apart from being concise and easy to read, has also attached importance to theoretical systematicness. Though it is not of great length (containing about 260,000 words), the textbook covers all general teaching materials of philosophy. Not all of its contents are equally stressed. Prominence is only given to the relationship between thinking and existence, and the law of the unity of opposites, methodology, and basic social problems.

In the course of compilation, the compilers of the textbook went into the midst of publicity sections of various prefectures, counties, and bureaus in Beijing and various party schools, cadre schools and factories, and mines and enterprises to learn of the needs and views of grassroots cadres. The topics discussed in the textbook are of the cadres' concern and the language used is one with which they are familiar. That is why the textbook has received wide acclaim from its readers.

This philosophy textbook has certain deficiencies. To name a few, the contents and use of words should be more concise. In certain instances, the exposition is not brilliant enough. Since it serves as a textbook for cadres who are novices in philosophy, it would have been better if an exercise of thinking had been given after each chapter so that cadres could have a better understanding and grasp of the major subjects.

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END